

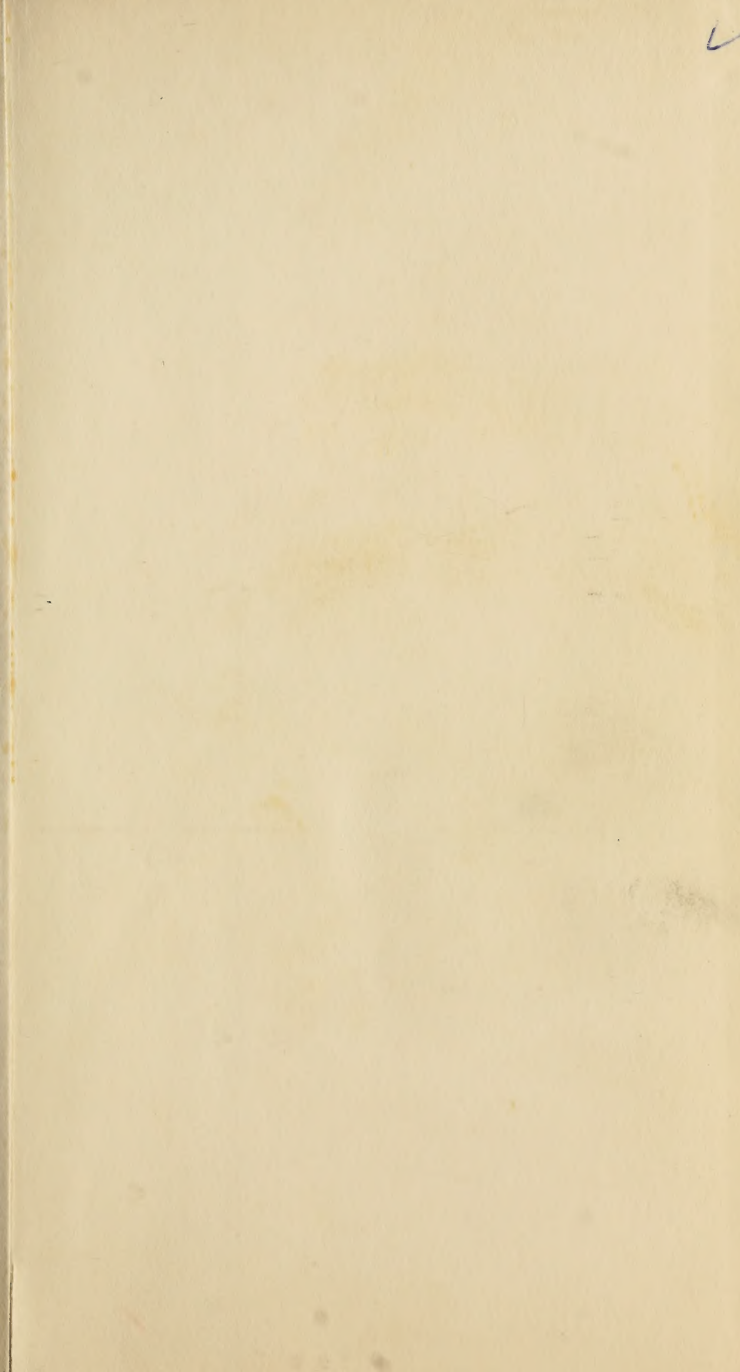
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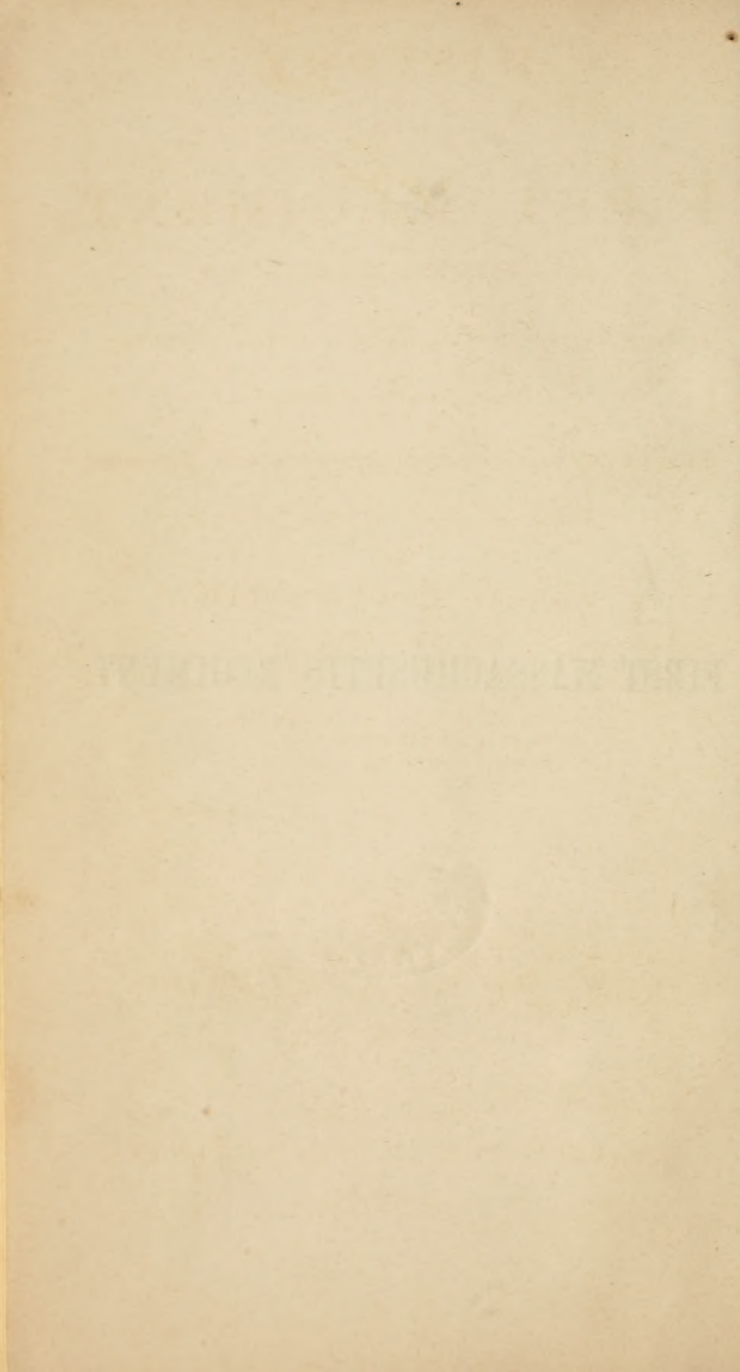
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FIRST MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.



HISTORY²⁷⁵
OF THE
FIRST REGIMENT
(MASSACHUSETTS INFANTRY),

FROM THE 25TH OF MAY, 1861, TO THE 25TH OF MAY, 1864;

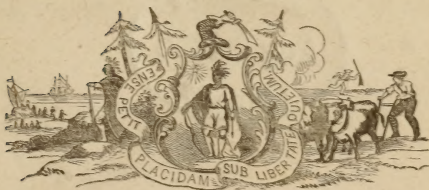
INCLUDING BRIEF REFERENCES TO

THE OPERATIONS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

BY
WARREN H. CUDWORTH,
CHAPLAIN OF THE REGIMENT.

A thousand glorious actions, that might claim
Triumphant laurels and immortal fame,
Confused in crowds of glorious actions lie;
And troops of heroes undistinguished die.

ADDISON.



BOSTON:
WALKER, FULLER, AND COMPANY.

1866.

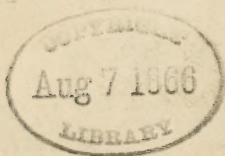
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PRESS OF GEO. C. RAND & AVERY,
3 CORNHILL, BOSTON.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
JOHN ALBION ANDREW,

Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,

WHOSE

CONSPICUOUS PATRIOTISM, UNDEVIATING LOYALTY, STEADFAST
ADHERENCE TO THE RIGHTS OF MAN,

AND

INDEFATIGABLE EXERTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL
GOVERNMENT DURING THE ENTIRE WAR
OF THE REBELLION,

HAVE ENDEARED HIS NAME

TO EVERY SOLDIER, SAILOR, AND PATRIOT IN THE LAND,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE author of the following history volunteered his services as chaplain in the First Regiment from no love of warfare, but simply because, with all his heart, he believed in "Liberty and the Union," and wished to cast in his lot with those brave and patriotic men who were willing to fight for "Liberty and the Union." He went out with them from Camp Cameron to Washington in June, 1861; came back for a few days in July, 1861, subsequent to the first battle of Bull Run; returned in one week; and remained with them during the whole subsequent period of their three-years' service, until they were mustered out on Boston Common, May 28, 1864.

He was personally present at nearly all the scenes described in the following pages, and gives therefore the impressions of an eye-witness.

It must be understood, however, that no single eye-witness can accurately observe nor completely embrace all the events transpiring in a great army, whether in battle or on the march; so that, should any who were with other parts of the army, or in other portions of the field, miss the record of occurrences with which they are familiar, they can account for the omission in this way. Being a chaplain, with an assigned place in rear of the column or line of battle, thither he always went, and there he always staid.

His information concerning the battles in which the First Regiment fought so gallantly was derived partly from knowing how the forces were disposed to meet the enemy, but mainly from reports brought in by the wounded and others as they came to the rear. The book has been written mostly from a sense of duty, and to supply members and friends of the First Regiment with a compact memorial of its glorious achievements.

By them he is confident it will be received with lenient and generous consideration; and should others feel disposed to criticise, he begs to assure them that no attempt has been made to present a specimen of literary elegance, but only to transcribe an unadorned statement of actual facts.

The company rolls at the end of the volume, in regard to dates, the spelling of names, time and cause of discharge, &c., have been copied as they appear on the books of Adjutant-General Schouler, at the State-House, Boston. No doubt, there are some typographical errors and some mistakes in figures and places; but they have been made as accurate as the materials at hand would allow, and will prove acceptable, it is to be hoped, to those who are most interested in them.

The writer is under obligations to several members of the regiment who have kindly allowed him the perusal of their diaries: he has also consulted official reports and other public documents, and faithfully followed the records of his own private memoranda.

EAST BOSTON, Dec. 20, 1865.



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THE FIRST MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

CHAPTER I.

“ To arms, to arms! whoever loves
The land that gave him birth.

.
A score of millions hear the cry,
And herald it abroad:
To arms they fly, to do or die
For liberty and God.

Old Massachusetts caught the word;
And, as a mighty man,
She buckled on the trusty sword,
And boldly led the van.”

E. P. DYER.

ORGANIZATION. — CAMPS ELLSWORTH, CAMERON, AND
BANKS.

THE First Regiment Massachusetts Infantry was organized immediately after the assault upon Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, on the morning of April 12, 1861.

This, more than any other act committed in the interest of secession, aroused Union men to an appreciation of the crisis that was upon them. The rebels made it apparent that they were thoroughly in earnest,

and resolved upon separation. The destruction of the National Government, which they had been unable to accomplish by nullification, by ruinous compromises, and Congressional brow-beating,—all of which Union men had taken patiently,—they were now determined to effect by force of arms. This was not to be taken patiently. Words, threats, denunciations, even unjust measures and bad laws, might have been quietly received, and endured, perhaps, for years: but cannon-balls required immediate and decided answer; and they got it. All over the North, and, to some extent, even from the South, patriotism poured forth its armed defenders of the national life. They gathered in cities, towns, and villages, animated instinctively by a similar spirit, overflowing everywhere with one and the same enthusiasm. Halls, commons, highways, even churches, were thronged with eager and excited crowds, all ready for action. Flag-staffs went up in every direction; the stars and stripes fluttered on every breeze; red, white, and blue rosettes, ribbons, and decorations were worn by all classes; while military bands, or the simple fife and drum, followed by squads, companies, or battalions of armed men, marching, drilling, and preparing for the conflict, told plainly enough that the Federal Union was not to be given up without a prolonged and determined struggle.

The First Massachusetts Infantry was the first regiment to leave the State for three years' service in the national cause; and, indeed, is said to have been the first three-years' regiment in the service of the United States. It was composed mainly of the old First Regiment of Massachusetts militia, which received its name about the year 1858, when the original First was disbanded,



THE SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT IN BALTIMORE, APRIL 19, 1861.



and the Second allowed to assume its name. Directly after the assault upon Fort Sumter, its services were offered to his excellency Gov. Andrew by Col. Robert Cowdin, then in command, to proceed at once to the defence of the capital. But, as it was deemed advisable to retain some of our soldiers in Boston for a time, other regiments from the country were sent, including the Sixth, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Eighth, whose term of service was to be for three months only. Upon the 8th of May, orders were issued from the War Department, calling for volunteers for three years. To this the First Regiment immediately and unani- mously responded, and, after various unavoidable delays, were mustered and sworn into the service of the United States as follows: viz., Companies A, B, G, and H, May 23; Companies D, F, K, and I, May 24; Company E, May 25; and Company C, May 27. The field and staff officers were mustered May 27.

The following were the home names and residences of the various companies:—

Company A, made up of two other companies. Brookline.

Company B, Union Guards. East Boston.

Company C, North End, True Blues. Boston.

Company D, Roxbury City Guards. Roxbury.

Company E, Pulaski Guards. South Boston.

Company F, National Guards. Boston.

Company G, Independent Boston Fusileers. Bos-
ton.

Company H, Chelsea Volunteers. Chelsea.

Company I, Schouler Guards. Boston.

Company K, Chadwick Light Infantry. Roxbury.

Companies B, D, E, F, and G were original com-

panies in the First Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. The others were added to make up the complement of ten companies.

From the 25th of May to the 1st of June, the headquarters of the regiment were at Faneuil Hall, Boston. The time of the men was occupied in drilling, reading, writing, getting ready, and amusing themselves in such ways as were not forbidden by the laws of war.

As the centre of a populous city was a very undesirable place for so large a body of men, however; and as there was no opportunity in or near Faneuil Hall for battalion and regimental drills, which it was necessary to have as speedily as possible, — on the first day of June, the regiment marched out to Cambridge, and took possession of an old ice-house, on the borders of Fresh Pond, which had been procured by the State authorities, and partially fitted up for barracks; and established their first camp. It was named Camp Ellsworth, in honor of the gallant colonel of the New-York Firemen Zouaves, whose murder by the secessionist Jackson, at the Marshall House, Alexandria, Va., on the morning of May 24, was still fresh in the public mind.

Here military discipline was at once enforced, a regular system of guard duty established, and, when the weather would permit, daily drilling and dress-parades introduced. The members of the regiment, though poorly accommodated, reconciled themselves to their new quarters as speedily as possible; and, among the majority, there was manifested a commendable disposition to make the best of every thing at once. There were some items connected with the commissary department, and other arrangements for personal convenience about the barracks, which called forth strong

expressions of disapprobation, and threatened, at one time, serious consequences; but as these were speedily attended to, and remedied so far as possible, those who had felt aggrieved were conciliated.

It was demonstrated by the rapidly increasing sick-list, and the universal prevalence of colds and other complaints, however, that the old ice-house was not a suitable structure for the temporary home of a thousand men; and, upon representations being made to this effect to the proper authorities, they at once set about the erection of better buildings on a well-selected lot of ground in North Cambridge, about five miles from Boston.

On the 13th of June, a sufficient number of barracks, having been completed to accommodate the regiment, the companies marched over and took possession, finding them in every respect as comfortable as could reasonably be expected. Here the land was high, the water good, the air dry and bracing; and a broad parade-ground between the road and the officers' quarters offered ample space for military evolutions. Although there was considerable incredulity as to the regiment's ever being called into active service against the enemy, the men entered into their daily marches, parades, and drills with the utmost zest, and seemed determined to become familiar with the principles of good soldiership, whether they were ever required to carry them into practice or not. The new encampment had been named Camp Cameron, in honor of the first Secretary of War, who was then a great favorite throughout the loyal portions of the country; and nearly all day it was thronged with visitors personally acquainted or connected with members of the regiment, or attracted by

the novelty of a real military camp, and a thousand men whose swords, guns, and accoutrements had not been assumed for a few days' show only, but for three years of cruel and deadly warfare.

The companies were not long permitted to enjoy the comforts of their new barracks at Camp Cameron ; for, on the 14th of June, orders were received from Washington to have every thing in readiness to leave the next day. This was just what the majority ardently desired, and many had not believed in ; and preparations to comply with the order were made with the utmost readiness and alacrity. It would astonish the veterans of 1864-65 to see how much these inexperienced volunteers packed into their knapsacks, haversacks, and pockets ; and how many enormous trunks, furnished with all the appliances required by an unlimited sojourn in foreign countries, were piled into the baggage-car for the benefit of the officers.

At half-past four on the 15th, Camp Cameron was left behind, and the line of march taken up for Boston Common. The roads were dusty ; the thermometer between 70° and 80° ; and the men compelled, on account of the crowded condition of their knapsacks and the raggedness of portions of their clothing, to wear thick winter overcoats. It was a hot march ; and words hot and strong, not a few, have been said and written about it : but it came to an end, and about seven o'clock the regiment was formed on Boston Common. Here an attempt was made to keep a portion of the parade-ground clear while the regiment made a *détour* around it, and went through a final dress-parade before leaving the State ; but it was found to be utterly impossible. Thousands of fathers, mothers,

wives, children, brothers, sisters, sweethearts, and friends, had been waiting two hours to catch the last glimpse of some loved soldier's form, and speak the last word which could be heard from them for months or years, perhaps forever ; and they would not be restrained. Indeed, it is strongly to be suspected that the police were not very efficient in their attempts to restrain them. Be that as it may, the line swayed to and fro a few moments, and then, over the rope, in every direction, the earnest and excited mass of humanity plunged ; and, much more speedily than it takes to write it, officers, soldiers, and civilians were mixed up in one immense throng of people, weeping, laughing, embracing, clinging to one another, and presenting here and there scenes so affecting, that the recollection of them is as fresh and vivid to-day as on the evening when they transpired. But all too soon this was brought to a conclusion ; and the troops were re-formed, and marched to the train of cars in waiting at the depot of the Boston and Providence Railroad. Here a platform was improvised from a pile of railway sleepers ; and, silence having been secured in the vicinity, Alderman Pray, in behalf of a committee of the city of Boston, stepped forward, and presented to the regiment a handsome national banner. Appropriate speeches were made by Mr. Pray, by his honor Mayor Wightman, and by Col. Cowdin in response ; and, after repeated rounds of cheers, the soldiers entered the cars, and, at nine o'clock in the evening, the train started.

There were seventeen passenger and four baggage cars, drawn by two powerful locomotives, some of the cars being decorated with flags and streamers ; and, at every station along the road, crowds of people assem-

bled, who cheered the soldiers, — women waving their handkerchiefs, and little children shouting and jumping about in a perfect frenzy of excitement.

At Providence, R. I., a detachment of the Marine Artillery welcomed the troops with a national salute ; while at least two thousand persons crowded around the cars, cheering, wishing the soldiers God speed, denouncing secessionists, predicting the speedy downfall of the Rebellion, treating the troops to fruit, cakes, *et cætera*, and really making them feel that they were going on a pleasure excursion, which would soon be over, rather than to engage in the most fearful and bloody of human transactions, which might be prolonged for years.

It was not until three o'clock, Sunday morning, the 16th, that the train arrived at Groton, Conn., where the cars were to be exchanged for the elegant and commodious steamer "Commonwealth." Here Fort Trumbull, on the opposite side of the river, belched forth a thundering welcome from its heavy iron guns ; while men, horses, wagons, and baggage were transferred as expeditiously as possible from the cars to the vessel.

While at Groton, in the midst of considerable confusion arising from the necessity of switching the train from one track to another, Daniel B. Miller, a young man of Company D, was jolted from his seat on one of the wagons, and, before it was discovered that he had fallen, twenty-four sets of wheels had passed over both his legs just above the knees. He was immediately removed to a house close by the depot, a physician summoned, and every thing done to alleviate his sufferings and prolong his life. But it was all without avail.

He lingered along, in an insensible condition, for about three hours, and then breathed his last.

Previous to this, a valuable horse had gotten loose from his fastenings, and leaped out of the car-door, breaking his neck ; but, with these exceptions, no other accidents occurred to mar the festive character of the trip from Boston to New York.

An amusing incident, indeed, took place while the men were filing across the steamer's forward gangway into the spacious cabin and grand saloon below, which caused a momentary sensation of profound concern ; for private T—— A——, of Company A, loaded with knapsack, haversack, overcoat, gun, and accoutrements, went suddenly overboard, and all felt sure he would sink like a stone. He manifested a decidedly contrary inclination, however, and, being a good swimmer, kept himself afloat until ropes were thrown within his reach, and he was extricated from jeopardy ; when the fears of his comrades were exchanged for laughter and jokes at his forlorn and dripping condition, all of which he took with the utmost good nature, inasmuch as it is vastly better to be the living butt of a little friendly ridicule than the dead recipient of the largest amount of funereal eulogium.

The steamer "Commonwealth" reached the wharf in Jersey City at quarter before two, P. M. She was gayly decorated with flags from stem to stern, and covered in every available standing-spot with soldiers. Thousands of people had assembled upon the wharf to receive them ; and, as the boat swung alongside, they broke into repeated and enthusiastic cheers, which were heartily responded to from on board.

After the troops disembarked, they were marched .

into the New-Jersey Railroad Depot, where tables had been spread with an abundant supply of creature comforts, and called upon to help themselves. This had been provided by an association of gentlemen resident in New York, called "Sons of Massachusetts," who also took the officers in charge, and furnished them with a bountiful entertainment at a hotel near by. A speech of welcome was made by Richard Warren, Esq., president of the association, just as the steamer arrived; to which Col. Cowdin fitly responded in behalf of his command. It had been hoped that sufficient time would be allowed to enable the regiment to land in New-York City, and march through a portion of Broadway; but various considerations combined to render it inexpedient; and after tarrying a few hours at the depot, until horses, wagons, and baggage had been all transferred from the boat to the cars, the train started for Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington.

A multitude of people, comprising thousands of all classes, surrounded the depot, while others crowded the sidewalks, covered the door-steps, and filled all the windows for miles along the route; and they seemed never to tire of waving hats, handkerchiefs, and flags, cheering the troops at the top of their lungs, and evincing everywhere the most rapturous joy at their appearance. At every stage of our progress, it became more and more evident that this was the people's war, and that the people were heart and soul committed to its prosecution and conclusion in favor of "Union and Liberty."

This could not have other than a cheering effect upon the soldiers, and served greatly to alleviate the depression which home-sickness would irresistibly pro-

duce in some natures. Between Jersey City and Philadelphia, as the train was proceeding about twelve miles an hour, one of the men, in attempting to look out from the platform,—for many were allowed to ride on the platform, and even on top of the cars,—lost his footing, and disappeared. It was supposed that he must have been instantly killed, and the train was stopped; and the surgeon, with three assistants, went back to get, if possible, his remains. To the relief of everybody, it was found that he had only been somewhat stunned, but was otherwise uninjured. It seems, that, instead of falling under, he fell away from, the cars; and, turning several somersets with extraordinary rapidity down the steep bank, he finally landed at the bottom in a soft bed of yellow mud.

The city of Philadelphia was reached about daylight the next morning. Owing to the crowded and deeply laden condition of the ferry-boats in going across the Delaware River from Camden, both of them got fast stuck in the mud. After some delay, and considerable exertion, they reached the other side; and the men were marched into the Cooper-Shop and Union-Refreshment Saloons, whose founders, supporters, and attendants deserve the gratitude of the entire country for the voluntary service they have rendered throughout the war in feeding the hungry, providing for the destitute, and ministering to the sick and wounded, who have thronged their establishment during all hours of the day and night, every day in the week, every week and month in the year.* In Philadelphia,

* Twelve hundred thousand volunteers were entertained, free of cost, at these saloons, during the war. At mid-night, or mid-day, cold or hot, cloudy or clear, no matter when a regiment might arrive, every man was sure of

the majority of the people were unmistakably in sympathy with the Union cause, but not so demonstrative of loyalty as farther North. Perhaps they had less faith in the final triumph of the Union arms; more fear that they might some time be called to account for giving aid and comfort to Union soldiers.

We were now rapidly approaching the most important portion of our route to Washington. Since the 19th of April, when the Sixth Regiment was assaulted, no Massachusetts soldiers had marched through Baltimore. Indeed, it had been declared that none ever should march through again; and to us had been committed the duty of ascertaining whether this was merely an idle boast, or a threat that would result in bloodshed.

About twenty miles this side of the city, ten thousand ball-cartridges were distributed among the troops, every gun was loaded and capped, revolvers and swords examined, and every man prepared for whatever emergency might appear. Cheering ceased long before we reached the suburbs of Baltimore, although here and there might be seen a flag or a handkerchief waved by some one more loyal or fearless than the rest. When the cars arrived, and the men left them, they were immediately surrounded by a motley assemblage of citizens, laborers, policemen, boys, and roughs, who were kept at a proper distance until the companies were formed. The order "Forward!" was then given by Col. Cowdin, on foot, and at the head of the regiment; and the march began. It was an anxious moment. Every eye was watchful, every footstep

a kind word and a good meal. The projectors, supporters, and attendants of these model establishments certainly deserve a monument.

firm, every man on the alert. But during the march of nearly, if not quite, two miles, with thousands crowding around, shop-doors and house-windows filled, balconies, steps, and sidewalks covered with people, not a hiss, not a groan, was heard, not a secession flag or motto appeared, not a single act of open hostility was committed; and on every hand it was plainly apparent that the enemies of the country were awed and cowed, if not converted.

And so, without the loss of a man or the firing of a gun, Massachusetts soldiers again went through Baltimore. It was indeed a quiet and triumphant march, and, when compared with that of the Sixth Regiment, shows how much Union sentiment had increased among the citizens, or, at any rate, how thoroughly traitors had become intimidated, since April 19. After leaving Baltimore, some of the soldiers who occupied the tops of the cars amused themselves in discharging their muskets by the roadside, to the serious detriment of two or three Maryland pigs supposed to belong to rebels. Upon reaching the Relay House and Annapolis Junction, where the Massachusetts Sixth and Eighth were quartered with Cook's Massachusetts Battery, there was quite an animated scene of recognition and hand-shaking between the troops old and new: but, without further incident worthy of mention, the train drove rapidly on; and the men arrived at Washington by seven o'clock in the evening, dusty and weary with their long and tedious ride, but in readiness for any service which might be required of them. Here they found that they had not been expected until a couple of hours later, and, accordingly, that no preparations had been made to receive them. But they were formed in

column by company, marched up Pennsylvania Avenue to Seventh Street; and, after considerable delay, eight companies were provided with accommodations in Woodworth's building on the avenue, a large unoccupied store or warehouse, and two quartered in a half-furnished structure on Sixth Street, while the officers were left to take care of themselves as best they could under the circumstances. No rations had been provided by Government for the men; and those who chanced to be moneyless, or without a companion sufficiently friendly to be willing to share his morsel with a brother-soldier, turned in for the night without any supper.

This was rather a cheerless reception, and it had a dispiriting effect; but, in the morning, matters began to wear a different aspect. By dint of great exertion, a couple of rusty caldrons were obtained from a neighboring hardware store, in which coffee was speedily made for the whole regiment. Several boxes of red herring were procured, with a few soda-crackers, and plenty of old, musty, wormy, and buggy ship-bread; and, having partaken of these, the men scattered, singly and in squads, in various directions, to inspect the public buildings of the national capital, and see for themselves what sort of a place the city of magnificent distances might be.

Washington at that day was full of secessionists; some of them open and bitter in their denunciation of the Government, others watching in secret for a favorable opportunity when they might throw off all disguises, and co-operate with the enemies of the Union.

There was hardly a department of public affairs in which there were not known disloyal officials, who, at

the same time they were drawing their salaries, were doing all in their power to overturn the authority they had sworn to uphold. Among such men, and the tools they could make subservient to their treasonable purposes, no Union man was safe, especially at night; and the soldiers, in consequence, uniformly went armed.

As they were allowed the freedom of the city, during the 18th, they visited the Navy Yard, Armory, Smithsonian Institution, Patent Office, White House, and Post Office, which were then completed, and the Capitol and Treasury Building, which had not been finished; and at night the feeling seemed to be very general among them, that, were it not for its public buildings, Washington would be far from an attractive or agreeable place of residence.

It was then a most noticeable fact to all New-Englanders, that in proportion to the distance travelled southward was the ratio of increase in discomforts and inconveniences to the traveller, in poor living and exorbitant charges at hotels and private boarding-houses, and in complete indifference to human comfort, and disregard of human life and happiness. The general impression prevailed, that the existing state of things was not long to last, that the rebels would inevitably win their independence, and that Washington would then become a Southern city. Jeff. Davis and his cabinet seemed to know just as well what was transpiring at the White House, what were the plans of Union generals, and what were the numbers and dispositions of the national forces, as they knew the condition of their own affairs; and, for many months after the war broke out, neither our army nor navy made any important

movement for which they did not find the enemy just as well prepared as ourselves.

All these things caused Washington to be the centre of a great deal of interest, and with its throngs of visitors, capitalists, contractors, politicians, office-seekers, inventors, and adventurers, the abode of perpetual excitement.

On Wednesday, the 19th of June, the line of march was again resumed, and the regiment went into camp beyond Georgetown, on the Potomac, about two miles below Chain Bridge. On the way, they marched in review before President Lincoln, who was then almost an unknown and untried man, but the object of universal curiosity and speculation. He stood just before the White-House entrance, wearing an affable and dignified expression upon his countenance, while the column, heavily equipped, and accompanied with all its wagons, ambulances, horses &c., went past; and expressed great satisfaction with the appearance of the troops to Gen. Morse, of Massachusetts, who was standing at his side. No sooner had the regiment got by than there was a rush from the crowd towards the President. Everybody had the American mania for shaking hands; and, had not the rearguard of troops interfered, he would have been kept standing in the broiling sun for hours.

As it was, he was escorted into his residence, and received quite a delegation of New-England men, who made an impromptu call upon him, with assurances of sympathy and co-operation in the arduous task he had been called upon to undertake. He received all courteously, and in course of his remarks, alluding to the surprising promptness with which the Old Bay

State responded to the first call, and the commendable valor displayed by her troops when they received and returned the first infantry fire in the war, said, "It is evident that the Massachusetts people have got *riley*; and, from what we have just witnessed, they appear to be coming down here to *settle*." This *bon-mot* produced considerable merriment as it went round from mouth to mouth, during which the President begged to be excused, saying he was busy preparing for the approaching session of Congress, and retired.

The march from Washington through Georgetown was extremely trying, as the mercury stood at 90°, and the roads were rough and dusty. Several men were sun-struck; but immediate attention, and the prompt application of proper remedies, prevented any fatal results. In honor of Major-Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, the new camp-ground was named Camp Banks.

It seemed to have been formerly a farm, as part of it was overshadowed by fruit-trees; while, of the rest, a portion had been ploughed, and a portion given up to pasturage. Its greatest lack was a scanty supply of poor water, part of which flowed through the centre of the camp from a half-finished reservoir belonging to the Washington Aqueduct Company, and part gushed out of a break in the aqueduct above the camp. As a thousand men and over were obliged to wash themselves and their cooking utensils in this water daily, its condition any time after daylight until dark can easily be imagined. Several times, exploring parties were sent throughout the neighborhood to ascertain if a more eligible site for a camp could not be dis-

covered ; but they met with such indifferent success in their endeavors, that no change was ordered.

Being, as it were, upon hostile soil, the regiment was at once put under strictly military discipline. Each company received four bell tents for the men, and one wall tent for the officers. A guard-house was selected, and a guard established for day and night. Cook-houses, ovens, stables, and other appurtenances, sprang up as fast as materials could be obtained for their construction ; and great ingenuity was manifested in the invention of such comfort-producing appliances as there was room in the tents to accommodate. Close by, and partly included in the precincts of the camp, were sundry shanties occupied by Irish laborers and their families, the men being employed to work on the reservoir and redoubts ; and with these the troops carried on quite a brisk trade in pigs, poultry, milk, and other creature-comforts not found on the ration-list of the army rules and regulations. Hucksters of all sorts, under certain sumptuary restrictions, were also allowed to peddle their wares ; so that, when the commissary salt-junk, whether beef or pork, was unusually tough or aged, and the hard-tack especially averse to mastication, the hungry patriots might solace themselves with attenuated pies or plethoric molasses-cakes meantime.

When the weather was pleasant, every man found plenty to do. At five o'clock in the morning, the *réveille* was beaten, to which members of companies responded by forming in their regular streets, and answering to their names, as they were called by the orderly-sergeant ; at six took place a company drill ; at seven, breakfast was served ; at half-past eight, guard-

mounting, including the relief of the old guard, and the posting of the new; afterwards, battalion-drills, target-practice, or inspection; at twelve, dinner, technically called "roast beef," but humorously known among the soldiers as "salt horse;" after dinner, rest until four o'clock, when the "call to the color" was beaten, followed usually by the "assembly," and another drill lasting nearly until dress-parade; dress-parade at six, with supper immediately after; roll-call at half-past nine; tattoo at quarter before ten, when all lights must be extinguished throughout the camp, except in the colonel's quarters and guard-house. In course of a campaign, circumstances, of course, caused a great variation in this programme; but the soldier's daily life in camp was made up more or less of such duties and experiences as are contained in the above list.

On Sunday, there was a religious service for such as chose to attend, though sometimes attendance was compulsory; and, every evening in the week, a meeting for conference and prayer.

Large numbers of visitors resorted to Camp Banks, and among them would occasionally appear a down-right secessionist. One was arrested on suspicion of being a spy; but, as nothing definite could be proved against him, he was afterwards released. Two or three night-alarms occurred, which called out the men hastily, in full force, expecting to be summoned to repel an attack from the enemy. On one occasion, a gun was discharged near the sentinel on guard at the reservoir; and he immediately fired at what he supposed was the would-be assailant, calling out the entire guard, and rousing every man in camp: but it turned out to be

only a drunken Irishman with an old flint-lock musket, who could give no coherent account of himself, and was therefore confined in the guard-house until he became sober, and then dismissed with a warning.

A garrison flag having been obtained from the Government, it was raised on a pole cut on the other side of the Potomac, and brought across; and patriotic speeches were made by several officers, while the band played the "Star-spangled Banner" and other appropriate selections.

One afternoon, during the passage of one of our regimental wagons through Georgetown to Washington, a fire broke out in the former place; which being observed by two members of the regiment, riding in the wagon, who were old Boston firemen, the ruling passion would have sway; and they dashed into the building, hose pipe in hand, and succeeded in subduing the flames.

The Fourth of July was not allowed to pass without patriotic recognition. It was a lovely day. The booming of guns and the sound of martial music opened the celebration. The forenoon was spent in parades and target-shooting. In the afternoon, Hon. T. D. Eliot, member of Congress from Massachusetts, addressed the men, drawn up in a hollow square, in a most happy manner; after which followed a grand dress-parade; and the day closed with the kindling of huge bonfires on all the hills around, on both sides of the river. The effect was so inspiring, that cheer after cheer rose from the troops until a late hour at night.

Boston citizens resident in California having contributed to present the regiment a handsome silk banner, on the 6th of July it was brought out to camp, and formally given into Col. Cowdin's charge by Sena-

tor McDougal of that distant State. Speeches were made by bearer, recipient, Col. Ellis, Col. Wells, and others ; and the exercises closed with the usual dress-parade.

On the morning of July 10 occurred the first death in the regiment. It was that of Charles Grant, of Company C. His comrades were much attached to him, and resolved to send his body home. It was necessary previously that he should be placed in a tomb, in the Georgetown cemetery ; and the escort marched to this, four miles distant, in the midst of a furious thunder-storm, not arriving until it was pitch dark.

The soldiers, preceded by the band with muffled drums, filed slowly along the avenues of the cemetery by torchlight, their weapons glittering when the light glanced upon them ; white tombstones starting up into ghastly prominence as they marched by, and the darker ones seeming to slink away into the shadow as if to avoid observation, while terrific peals of thunder echoed through the woods, and temporarily drowned every other sound. Entering the Gothic chapel, the bier, with its silent burden, was placed before the altar ; and as the men uncovered, grim and dripping, their muskets by their sides, and a few flickering candles throwing a weird, fantastic aspect over every thing, the solemn sentences of the burial-service, sounding through the building, made the whole scene more like a revival of some spectacle from the middle ages than an ordinary funeral occasion of our own day.

The inhabitants of Georgetown were greatly surprised that so much notice should be taken of a private, and supposed that we were burying a general at least.

Great attention was paid to cleanliness at Camp Banks. The men were allowed to bathe often in the canal close by the camp; and, though some of them averred that the dirty water soiled more than it cleansed, this could hardly have been the case.

Several severe thunder-storms visited the place, during one of which the tents, cook-houses, and shanties were completely inundated, and a large number of cooking and other utensils floated off. The soldiers were all turned out to recover their property, re-ditch their quarters, and re-pitch some of the tents which had fallen; and for a time they were obliged to move about in a very lively and amusing manner.

At Great Falls, on the Potomac, was an important portion of the Washington Aqueduct, in the form of a huge granite arch, said to be the largest and most costly in the country. As it was feared that the rebels might tamper with or destroy this, the whole vicinity was kept under careful surveillance; and on Monday, July the 8th, two companies of the First Regiment (I and K), under command of Major Chandler, were despatched to relieve some troops who had been sent up from the District of Columbia. They made the march in about eight hours, and located their camp upon the banks of the canal, naming it Camp Richardson, in honor of Col. I. B. Richardson, of the Second Michigan Infantry, who was then senior colonel of the brigade.

The two companies found constant occupation in patrolling the canal, and watching the Virginia side of the Potomac. Rebels had been seen there, and several shots were exchanged. On one occasion, a brisk engagement was anticipated, and our men, under cover of a thicket, fired several volleys into the woods said

to contain the enemy ; but, as the woods failed to respond, the alarm died away, and the men returned to their tents. It was reported at one time that three of the rebel pickets had been shot ; but the story was not generally credited. If the enemy had proposed to cross the river, they were prevented ; and the great arch of the aqueduct was not in any way interfered with.

As the army under Gen. Irwin McDowell was then about to move upon the enemy, at Fairfax Court House, Companies I and K were ordered to rejoin their command ; and during the night of Sunday, July 14, they came back to Camp Banks, arriving before daylight on the 15th.

Tuesday, July 16, orders were issued to have every thing in readiness for an advance ; and at three o'clock, P.M., the First Massachusetts, in company with the Second and Third Michigan and the Twelfth New-York Regiments, constituting Col. Richardson's brigade, crossed into Virginia over Chain Bridge, and commenced the march towards Vienna, the scene of Gen. Robert C. Schenck's discreditable surprise.

As this was their first foray upon the famous "sacred soil," the troops were very eager to converse with all the people in the vicinity of whose habitations the column marched ; and in the majority of cases, to their great surprise, they professed to be thoroughly loyal to the Union. One old lady was especially enthusiastic in her exclamations of delight as the soldiers marched by. Two flags bearing the stars and stripes waved in front of her house ; and she stood in close proximity to the lines, cheering, shaking her handkerchief, blessing God that she had lived to see such a day, and seeming half beside herself with joy. Several shook hands

and conversed with her, to whom she denounced the rebels in unmeasured terms, and assured us, that, without doubt, we should drive them before us like chaff before the wind.

This was all very cheering, and kept the men in good spirits until we arrived at Vienna, and went into bivouac, in an open field, about eleven o'clock at night.

Although the enemy had been there and at Lewinsville on the previous day, they retired as we advanced, and cut down trees across the roads in their rear to prevent a rapid pursuit. On the 16th and 17th, we saw along the roadside various evidences of the haste with which they had taken themselves off, in piles of blankets, with here and there articles of wearing apparel, which they had abandoned in their retreat. Before reaching Germantown the next day, a small village, containing, perhaps, a dozen houses, situated on the road between Vienna and Fairfax Court House, it was found that the enemy, or the advance-guard of the Union army, had fired most of the buildings; and, by the time the Massachusetts First had reached the centre of the town, the flames were bursting out in every direction. Not the least attempt was made to extinguish these fires, or to save any thing from the burning houses. The troops stood still in the streets, or sat down by the side of the road, while roof after roof fell in; looking on with a considerable degree of interest, and wondering to which party the owners owed the destruction of their property; but that was all. It was indeed a strange spectacle, especially to those who, all their lives, had been accustomed to see the eagerness with which a whole community would

engage in quenching the conflagration of a single burning building.

The owners had all decamped, or were carried away by the rebels, and, if they ever returned, found nothing but heaps of ashes where they left comfortable abodes. There was only one exception, and that was a house in which were found two rebels sick with the small-pox. Curious to see these men, and ascertain from a personal interview whether they were so poorly accoutred and supplied as we had been hearing all along, I obtained permission to pass the guard, and went in. I found them lying on the floor, without attendant, no medicine whatever, and but very little food. One was in his shirt-sleeves, and the other had on a sort of faded calico sack. In place of cross-belts and roundabouts, they had cord and strings. They paid no attention whatever to me until I spoke to them, but then answered civilly enough, though with evident disinclination to afford any useful information. I asked the one who appeared brightest,—

“Do you belong to the rebel army?”

“Yes.”

“What regiment?”

“Fifteenth Georgia.”

“Were you born in Georgia?”

“No: in Scotland.”

“How long have you been in this country?”

“Six years.”

“Where did you live?”

“Savannah.”

“Why did you join the rebel army?”

“Had to; nothing else doing.”

“Were you forced into the ranks?”

"No: couldn't earn any thing to live on."

"Do you think it is right to fight for those who are trying to destroy the Union?"

"Don't know; think it right to fight against invasion."

"How many troops have you got here?"

"Don't know."

"Who is in command?"

"Don't know."

"Where have they gone?"

"Don't know."

"Have they intrenched at Centreville?"

"Don't know."

"When did they leave here?"

"Don't know."

I found that my respondent would not "know" any thing of importance for me to find out, and left him. Subsequent inquiries convinced me, that, in intelligence, he was above the average of the rebel rank and file; and that the great majority of them were as poorly provided and cared for as he.

Arrived in sight of Fairfax Court House, the brigade halted, and skirmishers were sent out to ascertain whether the enemy held the town. It was found to have been abandoned: no guns were in the intrenchments; and only old men, women, and children, in the houses or streets.

Pressing on, the march was continued to the outskirts of Centreville, where about six o'clock the troops went into bivouac for the night. Several stray pigs here suffered the death-penalty for encroaching upon the limits of the camp, and were at once appropriated for rations.

As it was known that the enemy were within four miles, every precaution was taken to prevent a surprise before morning. None was attempted, however; and all night long the grass was covered with the prostrate forms of the exhausted men sleeping within reach of their weapons.

Just before morning, a musket was accidentally discharged, and almost immediately the ground was all alive with the aroused soldiers all ready for the enemy; but no enemy appeared, and nothing came of the alarm, except an unfortunate accident, whereby William B. Boag, of Company K, was shot through the fleshy part of the leg just above the ankle. But it proved only a slight wound, and gave him no more than a temporary inconvenience.

Early in the morning, the march was resumed, with the Massachusetts First at the head of the column, followed by the Michigan Second and Third; the New-York Twelfth closing up the rear.





CHAPTER II.

BLACKBURN'S FORD, AND THE FIRST BULL RUN.

"They say the battle has been lost, — what then?
There is no need of tears and doleful strains;
The holy cause for which we fought remains,
And millions of unconquerable men.
Repulse may do us good, it should not harm:
Where work is to be done, 'tis well to know
Its full extent. Before the final blow,
Power, nerved to crush, must bare its strong right arm!
Rebels, rejoice, then, while you may; for we,
Driven back a moment by the tide of war,
Regathered, shall pour on ye from afar
As mighty and resistless as the sea.
The battle is *not* lost while men remain, —
Free men, and brave, like ours, to fight again!"

R. H. STODDARD.

THE battle of Blackburn's Ford, although hardly any thing more than a skirmish or reconnoissance in force, has great interest for members of the First Regiment, because here they were exposed, for the first time, to the fire of the enemy, and here acquired their reputation for steadiness and reliability in the field.

It does not appear that Gen. McDowell, or the other generals in command of divisions and brigades, had any special plan to carry out, but only proposed to feel of the enemy, and ascertain how their forces were posted, and what was the form and character of their position. The first brigade had the advance, the second was a mile or more behind, and the third and fourth were two or three miles behind the second.



THE FIRST BLUNDER AT BULL RUN.

The heat of the weather was extremely oppressive, and water was so scarce, that many eagerly appropriated the contents of puddles in the road, or stagnant ditches along the way. Turning off to the left from Centreville, the first brigade marched direct for Bull Run by the road leading down to Blackburn's Ford. Creeks and brooks in Virginia were called "runs," and were usually shallow and insignificant streams, especially during the dry season. This was the case with Bull Run, which was one of the tributaries of Occoquan River. Its banks were covered with a rank undergrowth of bushes and thickets, above which towered, in certain portions, some of the stateliest forest-trees to be found in that part of the State.

Either side of the Run was peculiarly well adapted to the purposes of defensive warfare, as there was a gentle slope downwards to the bed of the stream, which had worn a deep chasm through the soft, yellowish alluvial soil with which the region abounded. It formed thus an impassable barrier to cavalry and artillery, and proved to the crafty Beauregard, in command of the rebel forces, the best line of defence he could possibly have selected. Long ranges of plateaux skirted the Run, some of which were cleared and cultivated, and others covered with a dense growth of timber. The approach to the Ford was apparently through the centre of a farm or plantation, with a house, barn, out-buildings, and a few fruit-trees on the left, and a large wheat-field on the right. In front were woods bordering the Run, where, as our forces came up, rebel pickets were observed. These suddenly retired at our approach; and the skirmishers advanced half-way down the hill to make observations. They discovered nu-

merous indications of the rebel infantry in the cleared spots and around certain buildings, with here and there a group of cavalry ; but no batteries were anywhere in sight. Immediate orders were given to bring up the artillery, and for the advance brigade of infantry to hasten forward as speedily as possible. The first battery was posted on the right of the road, and fired twelve or fifteen shot and shell at various objects before any notice whatever was taken of it. The enemy then replied with four or five rounds from rifled cannon, which proved that their gunners were perfectly familiar with the ground, and had got the exact range ; when the second battery arrived, and was posted lower down on the left. A hot fire was immediately directed to the spot whence the enemy's guns had opened ; but, after four rounds, they ceased to reply. Just then the infantry arrived, and the principal fighting of the day commenced. They were posted on both sides of the road ; the Massachusetts First being on the left, formed in close proximity to the bushes. Into the woods the skirmishers advanced under Lieut.-Col. Wells, and encountered the enemy almost at once. They opened a galling fire of musketry or rifles, but without attempting to advance, and seemed only inclined to dispute the passage of the Run, which they evidently supposed we intended to make at that point.

Meantime a company had been advanced to take and hold the house and barn on the left, which was successfully accomplished, and the company was ordered to continue on, and enter the woods as skirmishers. Here they encountered an unexpected embarrassment, from the fact that the rebels wore uniforms so nearly

like ours in color, that, a few hundred yards apart, it was impossible to tell who were friends, and who foes.

Lieut. William H. B. Smith discovered the enemy, as he supposed ; but seeing how they were attired, and fearing to give the order to fire, lest he might shoot some of our own men, he ran forward, exclaiming, "Who *are* you ?" The rebels replied with the same question, "Who *are you* ?" when Lieut. Smith incautiously responded, "Massachusetts men ;" and no sooner had the words left his mouth than the rebels replied with a volley which laid him dead upon the spot.

At this point, the skirmishers were joined by a couple of Ellsworth's Fire Zouaves, who seemed inclined to do a little fighting on their own account. Their regiment was at least six miles behind ; but they had smelled the battle from afar, and were impatient to be in the midst of it, and see what it was like. So, without waiting for the formality of a pass, they mingled with the advancing troops, and were among the first to enter the woods. Here, being subject to no special orders, they roamed about at will, doing excellent service in their own way, and picking off several of the enemy's forces. In some unaccountable manner, however, they got separated before the close of the fight ; and it was almost amusing to hear the lamentations of the one who came out last and with evident reluctance, supposing that his comrade had been killed or taken prisoner. He was actually crying as he went by the regiment, and, upon being questioned, replied, —

"I have lost Jim."

"Who was he ?"

"Jim ? The fellow that went in with me."

“What has become of him?”

“’Fraid he’s shot; didn’t want to have that fellow shot.”

“You seem very fond of him.”

“Yes: that fellow has run in the Fire Department with me three years.”

“Well, cheer up: you’ll find him in Centreville, perhaps.”

“’Fraid not;” and off he trudged; but in Centreville, sure enough, he did find his companion uninjured, and as full of anxiety about him as he had been himself on his account. Both manifested the utmost delight at meeting again.

After companies G and H had gone some distance into the woods, they came across a gully, or dry ravine, which extended downwards in the direction of Bull Run. Following this, they advanced over broken uneven ground, interrupted with high rocks here and there; and pushed ahead towards the rebel battery.

Here the gray uniforms of the Massachusetts men misled certain of the Michigan regiments; and they had already levelled their pieces to take aim, when Capt. Carruth ran in among them, inquiring, “Who are you here?” — “Michigan men,” was the response. “Well, we are Massachusetts men, don’t fire!” was his remonstrance; and the danger was averted.

Leaving the ravine, they mounted a moderate declivity which promised to afford a chance for an observation, and found themselves exposed to a murderous fire from three separate directions. Each man covered himself as well as possible, and sought for an opportunity to return the fire. But at first the enemy were completely invisible. They poured in volley after

volley, managing to remain concealed themselves. At this juncture, one of our guns from Capt. Ayres's battery was brought into position, at the head of the ravine, and opened upon the several places where the rebels lay concealed. This caused a severe fire to be concentrated upon the gunners, and so checked their operations, that the rebels, supposing the gun could be captured, prepared to make an assault. But, just as they were advancing, Company F appeared in support of the artillerists, and they drew off their piece without difficulty.

While this was going on, the New-York Twelfth Regiment received an order to occupy the left of the line, and advance through the woods in that direction. They had no sooner started to obey, than a volley was fired directly in front, which threw them into momentary confusion, and, for a while, completely checked their progress. The officers, by dint of great exertion, restored order, and succeeded in making another start; but another volley, worse than the former, spread consternation throughout the ranks, and, without waiting for orders or permission, they broke, and fell back in complete confusion, leaving the left entirely open to the enemy.

This seemed to decide the fate of the day; for the rebels rapidly advanced through the woods, and poured in so hot a fire upon the seven companies of the First Regiment, which stood in line of battle waiting for orders, that the men were told to lie down, and let the shot fly over. For at least half an hour, they remained in this position, unable to advance or retreat; while their skirmishers in the woods beyond, without support, were slowly falling back to rejoin them. The rebels

seemed greatly emboldened by this movement, for they approached the edge of the woods, and formed in line of battle : but a few well-directed rounds from the artillery drove them under cover again ; and, during the remainder of the day, the fighting was mainly confined to the batteries.

As nothing definite had been agreed upon among the commanders of the several brigades, concerning the reconnoissance at Blackburn's Ford, so throughout the day there seems to have been no understood plan of action in dealing with the enemy ; and, as everybody having any authority had no hesitation in expressing his opinion, or issuing his commands, the multiplicity of suggestions and orders was simply bewildering to the men. Moreover, there seems to have been a somewhat clumsy arrangement of forces, which allowed about three hundred and fifty or four hundred troops to do most of the fighting, while several thousands were resting in the immediate vicinity, ready and waiting to perform their share, if called upon. In falling back, nearly every thing was allowed to go by default. The Michigan regiments had been located so far from the main body of the rebels, and in such a position, away from the line of battle, surrounded by hills in every direction, that they had no chance to participate in the conflict raging on their left. The New-York Twelfth, after halting in the woods in the rear of the battlefield, were not re-formed and led back to their original position, nor was any other regiment required to undertake the task which they had essayed in vain ; and the two pieces of artillery which were sent down from Ayers's battery to co-operate with the skirmishers went into the woods, without any support ; so that, had the

enemy made an assault in force, they must have inevitably taken them both with all their men.

Moreover, the first attempt having proved, in part, a failure, as it had uncovered only a portion of the enemy's defences, a second one was not ordered, although three or four hours of daylight yet remained, and whole brigades could have been summoned to the spot to make success a certainty.

The effect of such indecision or indifference could not be otherwise than encouraging to the enemy, while, to the same extent, it was discouraging to us. Blame cannot justly be attributed to any particular individual, inasmuch as caution was indispensable in making approaches to a spot rendered so formidable by nature and art as the south bank of Bull Run ; but that the position was surrendered so early in the day, and without making a stronger demonstration against it, cannot be otherwise than a matter of regret, especially as, in leaving the ground, we were obliged to abandon our dead and wounded to the enemy, some of the latter of whom we were repeatedly assured subsequently were bayoneted where they fell.

The cavalry, who were ordered to co-operate with the Twelfth New-York, and prevent any flank movement by the enemy on the extreme left of our lines, found it utterly impossible to advance on horseback through the forest, and were obliged to dismount, and proceed on foot. When the Twelfth fell back, several rifled cannon-balls were sent in among them, which made their position extremely uncomfortable ; and knowing they could obtain no artillery in such a place, and that, while the enemy might seriously injure them, they could not reach a man on their side, they remounted,

and dashed through the woods to their original position in the rear. Simultaneously with this, Companies G and H, having reached a sheltered position, took a short breathing-spell, and, not being followed by the enemy, began to contemplate the possibility of a return in order to rescue their wounded comrades, and bring out the dead. At first there was considerable hesitation; but, when the officers boldly advanced, the men as eagerly followed. Without much opposition, they reached the old spot, but again encountered such a withering fire poured in upon them from three separate points, that they were compelled to withdraw without effecting their purpose.

Now commenced the general retrograde movement. Three fresh regiments had just been double-quickened up to support any farther advance; but it was deemed expedient to retire, and the word was given. ✕

None of the troops were in any hurry about it, neither was there the slightest trace of any panic or tumult. The batteries on either side exchanged a few parting shots, ours firing the last gun, when the position was abandoned, and the troops marched back at leisure to Centreville.

No attempt was made by the enemy to pursue the retiring column, they continuing to act simply on the defensive, as during most of the day they had done. It was very evident, too, that they stood in salutary dread of our well-served artillery, whose fire, we subsequently learned, had been fearfully destructive. Upon reaching Centreville, it was found that the whole vicinity was alive with troops, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery; most of whom had been marching all day, and were completely exhausted by the heat

of the weather, and the unusual exertion they were obliged to put forth to reach the scene of conflict.

The results of the preliminary skirmish at Blackburn's Ford, although not so gratifying as the most sanguine had anticipated, were of great importance, nevertheless, both to officers and men. To thousands it was the first time they had ever been under fire; and they found, contrary to the insulting predictions of secessionists and their allies, that they could stand under it. Tried veterans could hardly have exhibited more intrepidity and coolness than did these inexperienced volunteers, fresh from the farms, workshops, counting-rooms, and sale-counters of the North.

The seven companies of the First, not acting as skirmishers, were exposed for over two hours to the galling fire of an enemy, the only evidences of whose proximity were the crack of his rifles, the thunder of his artillery, and the whir, the shriek, or sharp buzz of the deadly missiles he sent flying over and among them. While they were in the open field most of the time, the enemy were perfectly concealed; but not a man quailed who had marched into the field; and, with very few exceptions, not one but obeyed with instantaneous alacrity every order given, from the beginning to the end of the struggle. Col. Cowdin was repeatedly shot at by rebel marksmen, who singled out his tall form as a sure target for their bullets; but he maintained his position, and moved round among his men as unflinching and resolute as during an ordinary parade. Lieut.-Col. Wells and Major Chandler were also full of valor and spirit; and Massachusetts pluck was signally illustrated by officers and privates along the entire line.

On the road from Centreville to the battle-field, and throughout the woods and bushes contiguous, blankets, overcoats, canteens, knapsacks, haversacks, books, maps, and various other articles, were strewn in heterogeneous confusion. The heat was most oppressive, the dust stifling, the roads rough, and every thing that could be parted with was thrown aside without ceremony. Some men entered the field, having on only shoes, pants, shirt, hat, musket, and accoutrements. Several were sun-struck, and fell out by the roadside, utterly unable to proceed.

The engagement lasted almost continuously from twelve o'clock till five, and was fought throughout in an experimental sort of a way, as it was known that the enemy had a habit of masking his batteries, and keeping under cover as pertinaciously as so many Indians, until assured of some decided advantage; and it was determined not to give him this advantage by being drawn into any of the numerous traps with which roads, woods, and thickets abounded, if possible to avoid it.

It has been said that our forces were beaten at Blackburn's Ford; but so strong an expression was hardly justified by subsequent results. They simply failed. Had they been beaten, they would have been driven off the field, and compelled to leave it in possession of the enemy. But, to my certain knowledge, they fired the last shot; and, when they withdrew, not a rebel was in sight, and not one undertook to follow them, or occupy the ground they voluntarily abandoned. Our troops, moreover, sheltered neither by trees, banks, fences, houses, nor walls, able to protect themselves when the fire was most severe only by fall-

ing flat upon their faces, obeyed the order to retire with evident reluctance, and were as full of resolution when the contest ended as when it began.

Our losses exceeded those of the rebels somewhat, — if Beauregard's official report may be credited as regards that of the enemy, — amounting to twenty-nine killed, forty-six wounded, and thirty-eight missing ; while he sums up a total of only sixty-eight, or fifteen killed and fifty-three wounded.

The following list was copied from the adjutant's official report of the First Regiment the day after the battle, July 19 : —

Company C : Missing, John W. Boss ; returned.

Company D : Wounded in camp, not fatally, Sergeant Moses H. Warren.

Company G : Killed, Second Lieut. William H. B. Smith, Sergeant Gordon Forrest, Ebenezer Field, Thomas Riorno, William H. Smart, James S. Silvey.

Company G : Missing, Austin Bigelow, Michael J. Desmond, — taken prisoners, exchanged, and mustered out with the regiment ; Edward Field, taken prisoner and exchanged ; Charles G. Fuller, Samuel T. Long, taken prisoners, exchanged, and discharged for disability ; George J. Moore, taken prisoner and exchanged ; Thomas S. Parker, taken prisoner, exchanged, and mustered out with the regiment ; Richard P. Rowe, wounded, captured, exchanged, and discharged for disability ; William A. Searles, taken prisoner, exchanged, and mustered out for disability ; Eugene Stimson, taken prisoner, exchanged, and mustered out by order of the War Department, Jan. 10, 1863.

Company H : Killed, Sergeant Thomas Harding,

George Bacon, Philander Crowell, James H. Murphy, Thomas Needham, Albert F. Wentworth.

Company H: Wounded, William H. Lane, George G. Learned, William Grantman, Orville Bisbee, Nelson S. Huse, George W. Gray, William D. Grover.

Company I: Killed, Corporal Oliver E. Simpson.

Company K: Wounded in camp, Joseph Eltraher, William R. Boag.

Company K: Missing, George Wheeler; returned, discharged for disability.

On the night of the 18th, the troops went into bivouac just out of Centreville, and the next morning returned to the woods skirting the battle-field of the previous day. They found that the enemy still retained their former position, having neither advanced nor fallen back. Arrangements were at once made to picket the entire position; and two companies, I and K, were sent for this purpose, about a mile to the left, to a farm-house approachable by bridle-paths from various directions, which it was deemed expedient to hold for the present. During the night of the 19th, great activity prevailed on both sides. Troops were hurrying up the turnpike from Washington and Fairfax Court House to reënforce McDowell; and the rumbling of heavy trains, with the frequent whistling of locomotives, in direction of the Manassas-Gap Railroad, showed that the rebel numbers were being augmented as rapidly as possible. During the night the regiment was roused from its slumbers six or eight times by the discharge of muskets in rapid succession, showing that the pickets were on the alert; and the men turned out at once each time, and stood prepared for whatever might follow. But it invariably appeared that the

picket had been disturbed by some innocent cow, had mistaken a tree for a man, or, hearing a noise, had fired in the direction whence it proceeded, without waiting to ascertain the cause. The rebels also seemed exceedingly uneasy, and kept up an almost uninterrupted fusillade along their picket line ; once or twice discharging whole regimental volleys in rapid succession, as if sure they were about to be assailed. Morning found the position of both parties relatively the same, however ; and the day wore away without any material change.

Centreville during this time had been the great focus of interest ; for here the wounded had been gathered, and here likewise the dead were buried. It would seem that, in a well-known Virginia town on the high road, only thirty miles from the capital, boards enough might have been found to make into rude coffins for a few of the dead, but they could not be ; and, as it was necessary to bury them immediately, they were wrapped and covered with their own blankets, and thus consigned to the earth. In this poverty-stricken town, it was impossible to find supplies of any kind or description. The few people who remained had either hidden, sold, or been deprived of their stores, and neither wounded nor sick could obtain any thing beyond what was brought out in the regimental teams. It should be remembered, too, that, at this early stage of the war, no ambulance system had been adopted, nor had the hospital department received the study, care, and attention subsequently bestowed. Quite a number of congressmen and other civilians had followed in the wake of the army to see the fighting, bringing their refreshments with them ; and I can testify that they shared of their

abundance with many a poor fellow who had nothing, in no stinted or niggardly manner.

The night of the 20th was mainly a repetition of the 19th, excepting that the principal street of Centreville was a constant thoroughfare for bodies of troops hurrying forward to form in line of battle for the rapidly approaching conflict. The position of the Massachusetts First had been considerably strengthened by earthworks thrown up in the road, and trees cut down to prevent entrance from the front into the woods ; but, in other respects, it remained unchanged. Aroused repeatedly during the night, the men had made up for it by sleep in the daytime, and, excepting some dissatisfaction for the scant quantity and poor quality of their rations, were in excellent temper and spirits. It should be remembered that only subsistence enough to last three days had been taken from Camp Banks in the haversacks of the men ; and as this had been exhausted Friday afternoon, during Saturday, and until noon on Sunday, when the supply-wagons came up, they had lived literally from hand to mouth. ✱

Sunday morning, July 21, every one was up early. Troops had been in motion nearly all night. Gen. Tyler was to form his division at two, A.M., on the Warrenton Turnpike, threatening the passage of the bridge. The second and third divisions were to move between two and three, A.M., to the Sudley-Spring Ford, and, crossing Bull Run at this point, menace the rebel left and centre. The fifth division was to remain in reserve at Centreville and vicinity, holding Blackburn's Ford, and making such demonstrations with artillery as might be deemed advisable.

We had more than thirty thousand men, of whom

eighteen thousand were engaged; the enemy over forty, and some state nearer sixty thousand, with nearly thirty thousand engaged. Soon after six o'clock in the morning, a rifled Parrott thirty-two-pounder began to shell the woods beyond Blackburn's Ford, to discover if possible the whereabouts of the rebel batteries. Nothing made response but the reverberations which rolled over the hills, and shook the woods for miles around. But it was the signal, the dread note of preparation, for the deadly work about to commence along both lines of battle. The enemy remained obstinately under cover. They had constructed their lines of defence, planted their guns, and posted their infantry in the best positions the country would afford; and it was evident that our troops must ferret them out. It was a kind of warfare well calculated to test the valor of the bravest men; and neither few nor weak were the maledictions heaped upon these skulking exponents of Southern chivalry for refusing fair fight in the open field. But this new kind of hide and seek had got to be played out to its fearful and bloody end; so the men tightened their belts, examined their pieces, and began in skirmish line their cautious hunt after the lurking foe. In the centre and beyond, on the plains of Manassas, the country was open, but on either side, closed in a semi-circular belt of untrimmed woods, whose obscure depths were fearfully ominous of ambuscades, masked batteries, and whole brigades of infantry lying flat on their faces, waiting to pour in their murderous fire. As the skirmishers approached the trees, a white puff of smoke here and there, followed by a sharp crack and the snappish ring of the rifle-bullet, told that they had not been unobserved. Advancing still, followed by a bat-

tery and a line of battle debouching right and left, the intermittent shots became more regular and rapid, until, as they entered the woods, the entire solitude seemed suddenly peopled with angry masses of troops who broke forth into volleys of musketry so fierce and rapid, accompanied with rounds of artillery concealed behind fallen trees so close and fatal, that our troops were fain to retire and re-form. But, having found their foe, it soon became his turn to receive fires as rapid and fiercer than his own. A system of fighting so dastardly had only the effect to fill the Union soldiers with indignation ; and when their blood was up it mattered not what obstacles presented themselves, for nothing seemed insurmountable. Batteries were brought up, planted, and trained upon the hostile lurking-places, sharp-shooters crept within easy range, and made a target of the puffs of white smoke which gave assurance of men close by them ; and regiments penetrating the forest took each one to his tree, and fired at will. So following a retreating line, they came all of a sudden upon a battery of eight guns. It opened almost in their faces, but, fortunately, was aimed too high. The shot flew over. Uncovered, however, it was immediately assailed in front and flank. The gunners loaded and fired with furious energy ; but every moment saw one or more of them crippled or slain. The great rifled Parrott dropped its shells close by their ammunition-chests, while Carlisle's howitzers swept the space between cannon and caisson with such an iron storm, that one after another the guns were silenced, and the rebels forced to lie down to save themselves from annihilation.

At the same time, far up on the right, Burnside's

brigade, having crossed Bull Run in pursuance to orders, was immediately assaulted by the enemy in force, who made every possible effort to drive it back before the rest of the division could get over to its assistance, or Col. Heintzleman's division form to approach the hostile centre. But it was in vain. Whole regiments broke from the column, leaped fences, jumped ditches, and advanced upon the double-quick to the support of their hardly pressed comrades.

The rebels were evidently taken by surprise. Everywhere they found themselves confronted by the Federal forces. They were heated, panting, and stripped, some of them, almost to the skin, but full of fight, and determined to advance. Fire was opened upon them from infantry and artillery along the entire front. The killed and wounded fell by scores. Hunter himself had been disabled, Col. Slocum was killed, Col. Marston wounded, Major Ballou severely injured: the field seemed half covered with men bearing a comrade between them saturated with blood to the hospital, but still the line moved on. Fresh battalions marched forward relieving those whose guns were overheated or whose cartridge-boxes were empty, and increasing the enthusiasm already wrought up to a fearful pitch, when slowly and sullenly the enemy gave way. Instantly it was observed, and instantly the fact was announced by orderlies riding furiously along the whole line. If the men needed encouragement, they now had it. Burnside and Porter were doubling up the rebel left with every volley, while Tyler and Heintzleman came thundering down upon the centre, pressing back the reluctant columns through woods, and over the plains, and making it evident to the most distant spectator that the

day was almost ours. Several charges had been made upon the enemy's lines, during which our men rushed with irresistible impetuosity upon them, forcing them to give ground at the point of the bayonet. The New-York Sixty-Ninth Volunteers were especially noticeable for the vigor and spirit with which they performed this service. They took upon the flank one regiment, which, having retreated into a hay-field, endeavored to make a stand, and retrieve its failing fortunes. The men rushed at them utterly beside themselves with belligerent ardor. They threw away knapsacks, coats, and haversacks, and stripped, as though each man was preparing to have a personal set-to. The enemy did not wait for the shock of a collision. One volley ; and they sought safety in flight. So from point to point they were being pressed back along the whole line of battle. Our men invariably beat them when they endeavored to make a stand in the open field, and from most of their lurking-places in the woods, they had been gradually unearthed ; so that in all directions it became evident that they were being sorely discomfited, and were inclined to give way.


Still, wherever they could, they disputed every inch of our advance. At noon, the battle raged furiously along a line at least three miles in extent. The roll of musketry, the roar of cannon, the bursting of shells, the dull whir of solid shot, intermingled with the shouts of thousands, made an incessant din. Far above every thing else, now and then would sound out the boom of the thirty-two-pound Parrott ; and then the batteries, one after another, in rapid succession, would discharge all their guns, raising an uproar which was heard as far as Fairfax Station, Alexandria, and even Washington itself.

Above woods, meadows, and hill-tops rose clouds of thin bluish-white smoke from the guns of the foemen below ; while the roads in every direction were distinctly marked by immense volumes of dust, which rose over the trees, and were borne away by the wind as the various bodies of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, were manœuvred to take fresh positions along the front of battle.

Near the centre of the contending forces was a high hill commanding the country around in every direction. The tide of battle had swept along its base several times in succession ; but it became at last important that it should be carried and held. Upon it was an open rebel battery with long lines of riflemen gathered for its support. Every regiment that advanced against it was almost a forlorn hope ; but seven or eight times in succession, through a perfect storm of iron and lead, half a dozen of our regiments did advance against it, finally paused upon its summit, unfurled the stars and stripes, and raised cheer on cheer over their victorious achievement. Pursuing their advantage over the hill and down into the valley, they met in nearly every encounter the same inspiring good luck. The columns of the enemy everywhere fell back. Breastwork after breastwork was scaled and carried, thicket after thicket cleared out, battery after battery unmasked ; and as now the rebels seemed less furious in their resistance, less rapid in their firing, less obstinate in the maintenance of their positions, our own fire began to slacken, and hundreds of our men who had been at work nearly fourteen hours in smoke, dust, and insufferable heat, half famished with hunger and thirst, improved the temporary lull to procure a little refreshment.

But the enemy were still hard at work,— not now with powder and ball, but hurrying forward reënforcements as fast as cars could land them upon the field. It is doubtful, had the attack been continued, if they would have stood at all. Having been apparently abandoned, they made preparations to renew it themselves. By some unfortunate blunder on our part, batteries were allowed to take post in an open field without any infantry support, or, as some say, the commanding officer was deceived in supposing that a regiment of rebels in the woods close by was the Federal infantry support; and, sooner than it takes to write it, a withering fire but a few hundred yards distant had killed and wounded horses, cut down cannoneers, and thus disabled most of the guns. At about the same time, firing was resumed by the rebels along nearly their entire front; and, by another unfortunate blunder, our men, lying down and resting, snatching a morsel to eat, or attending to their wounded comrades, were not in a condition at once to return it. By another unfortunate blunder still, commissary wagons and other military teams had been allowed to drive indiscriminately upon the battlefield, with ammunition and supplies, instead of being properly parked in the rear; and whenever cannon-shot or shell from the rebel batteries fell into their midst, they caused confusion, and, finally, at the close of the day, a general stampede.

By still another unfortunate blunder, the reserve forces stationed at Centreville and Fairfax Court House were not called upon to participate in the engagement at all. During the entire day, they heard the roar of the conflict, and saw many of the wounded as they were brought from the field; but themselves re



mained inactive, and might as well have been in the moon. It is said also that some hundreds of civilians who were very eager and anxious to see the fighting were no less eager and anxious to drive out of the way when the enemy took position where their proximity might prove dangerous; adding by their trepidation and hasty retirement not a little to the alarms of the hour. There is no doubt that the enemy knew exactly how many men we had, and what would be the general plan of our attack; for farmers, and other residents of the region all about, were allowed the freedom of our lines, and, on various pretexts, were constantly passing in and out of our camps.

Gen. Scott declares that our forces were in too much of a hurry, too eager, too confident, too certain of victory, and tried in one day to accomplish the work of three. Be that as it may, the day seemed to be ours, the victory just within our grasp, defeat an utter impossibility, when, all of a sudden, every thing was reversed.

The unsupported gunners of Griffin's and Rickett's batteries fell back, leaving their pieces at the mercy of the enemy. The exhausted infantry, taken at a disadvantage, deprived of nearly all their officers in various ways, fought stubbornly a while, and then fell back, some according to orders, and some without orders. The supply-teams made off at full speed, aiming for the nearest place of safety. Lookers-on from all quarters joined in the general retrograde; and the day which had been so nearly won was utterly and irretrievably lost. The flight that followed, over hill and plain, along the roads, and through the fields or woods, it seemed utterly impossible to arrest. Hun-

dreds of brave men attempted it, some of them civilians ; commanding, imploring, and trying to shame the troops into making a stand ; but the tide had turned, and it carried every thing before it. For miles, and from all parts of the battle-field, a heterogeneous throng of soldiers poured along, some on the keen jump, and others hurrying to get out of the way, without any regard to orders, officers, or plan of operations. Army-wagons, ammunition-teams, sutler's conveyances, hacks, barouches, country carts, pieces of artillery, and caissons drove wildly ahead, knocking down many of the fugitives, and adding to the general dismay. At one bridge, where the passage had become obstructed, horses were cut loose from teams and batteries, mounted by whomsoever happened to be nearest and strongest, and driven rapidly away. Men were constantly shouting, " Where is the regiment ? " as they swarmed along towards Centreville ; and their only answer was the same question, asked from another quarter. The cavalry, in a state of complete disorganization, mixed in with the infantry, and spurred their horses along without any regard to life or limb, while ponderous gun-carriages came dashing through the crowd, scattering it right and left, or crushing under their heavy wheels those unable to get out of the way. By the road-side sat many of the wounded with arms, heads, or hands bound up, and piteously besought horsemen to take them up behind, or tried to climb into the wagons which had been emptied of their contents, and filled with terror-palsied runaways. In some cases they were successful ; but in others they were answered by oaths, or pushed off with bayonets. Military property of every description was abandoned wholesale. Pow-

der, cannon-balls, muskets, cartridges, clothing, accoutrements, harnesses, shovels, picks, cooking-utensils, axes, blankets, and tents strewed the roads for miles, or were piled up in the fields in heaps. At least a dozen supply-wagons had been capsized, intentionally or otherwise, and their contents appropriated without waiting for the usual forms. Barrels of flour, sugar, rice, and coffee, chests of tea, sacks of corn and oats, boxes of hard-bread, casks of vinegar and molasses, with liberal supplies of corned beef and salt pork, stood open in the road, no one to guard them, though surrounded by soldiers, and were issued without regard to the "rules and regulations," and in utter defiance of "red tape."

Not till the retreating army reached the vicinity of Centreville, did they seem relieved of the intense anxiety which had spread throughout their ranks. There, extending across the road, and reaching far out into the fields on both sides, was Blenker's brigade. They were to guard the rear. They stood firm as the hills, while the panic-stricken multitude rushed through their line like a tornado. From five o'clock till sunset, throughout the evening, and until two o'clock the next morning, Blenker held this position, putting forward his skirmishers at every sign of an attack from the enemy's cavalry, and repulsing one about eleven, P. M., which, had it been successful, would have opened the way for their whole army to take up the pursuit. As it was, the rebel cavalry were driven back; the thronging, hurrying multitude got by; the sick, the slightly wounded, the worn out, came on in thinner lines, with larger and larger spaces between their jaded and staggering groups; and at last the brigade took up the line of march towards Washington, leaving the battle-field,

where such prodigies of valor had been performed, alas! it seemed in vain, strewn with our dead and wounded, and several hospitals, filled with those too seriously injured for removal, in the hands of the enemy.

At Blackburn's Ford, where the Massachusetts First had been stationed throughout the day, no demonstration had been obtained from the enemy until night. Although it had been anticipated that they would make their principal assault in this direction, they seemed to have divined or been made acquainted with Gen. McDowell's plan of attack upon their left, and devoted all their energies to its repulse. Hence, although Col. Richardson shelled their position repeatedly with a couple of ten-pound rifle-guns, holding four regiments in line of battle to be ready for every emergency, they made no response. All day long the men watched the woods, the road, the clouds of dust and smoke, and the progress of the fighting on their right, but had no enemy to meet themselves. Two companies of the First (I and K) were in and around the buildings of a farm, considerably to the left of the line. Another company half-way between the two positions had been stationed in a ravine, with pickets thrown out to the front; and the balance of the regiment was posted on the right, in line of battle in the edge of a piece of woods on the crest of a commanding eminence, just in the rear of Lieut. Green's regular battery. So the day wore away. About noon, the mail arrived and was distributed. Abundant rations also had been brought forward; and, as every thing had apparently been going in our favor, the soldiers were in the best of spirits. Various bodies of rebel troops had been observed

through field-glasses, gathering in front and on the left of our position, which had accordingly been strengthened by throwing up a parapet of earth, having three embrasures to rake the road, and by forming an abatis of trees extending several hundred feet to the right and left.

Skirmishers had advanced into the woods, nearly in front, but fell back upon finding the enemy in force; not having any instructions to attack.

At five o'clock, P.M., orders were passed down the line to fall back. What could it mean? At the same time some movements were observed on the left, and soon after a heavy column of rebel infantry advanced cautiously along a ravine fronting the farm-house held by Companies I and K, and endeavored to file to the right. They were challenged repeatedly, but without obtaining any reply, and at last fired at. The fire they immediately returned, and the action became general. Our men were in a log-barn firing through the chinks, and behind a Virginia fence aiming over the rails. They were assisted also by Capt. Hunt's battery, which threw shell and canister into the rebel ranks, so that they were compelled to fall back, and cover themselves within the ravine again. The order then came round that our forces were to retire. Lieut. Elijah B. Gill, jun., of Company I, had been instantly killed by a rifle-ball through the heart; and Corporal John F. Baxter, of K, dangerously wounded. Stretcher-bearers were appointed to carry both to the rear, and in good order the place was left behind. Arrived upon the hill just this side of Centreville, it was found that the army of the North was in full retreat. Hundreds

upon hundreds of bewildered and excited soldiers were rushing along through dust and confusion towards Fairfax Court House. With the other regiments of the brigade, the First quietly formed in a hollow square in rear of the artillery, which, meantime, had been playing upon the rebel cavalry advance, and, soon after dark, most of the men laid down and went to sleep. At this time, a grave was hastily dug for Lieut. Gill; funeral services were held over his remains by candle-light; and he was laid in his last resting-place.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock, the brigade was aroused, and started in rear of the artillery towards Washington. It was the last brigade but one to leave the field, and moved away as quietly as to a change of camps. The road, by this time, had become comparatively clear, and at every step we saw evidences of the haste and terror in which our forces had made off. About daylight on the 22d, a moderate rain set in. It proved a great blessing to many. At noon, the regiment reached Canal Bridge, nearly opposite Georgetown, and was delayed two hours, waiting for a pass to go over into camp. At last the pass arrived; and the weary men, hungry, drenched, and sorely perplexed by our unexpected failure, marched into their tents, took supper, and were soon stretched upon the ground in profound slumber.

The national loss at Bull Run was fifteen hundred and ninety; killed alone, four hundred and seventy-nine.

The rebel loss was fifteen hundred and ninety-three, of whom three hundred and ninety-three were killed.

We lost also twenty-nine pieces of artillery, a large number of wagons, and some several hundred thousand dollars' worth of property.

But we lost neither heart, nerve, will, confidence, nor determination. We had failed in a battle, but not for the war.





CHAPTER III.

FORT ALBANY, BLADENSBURG, AND LOWER MARYLAND.

" All quiet along the Potomac to-night,
Where the soldiers lie peacefully dreaming;
Their tents in the rays of the clear autumn moon,
Or the light of the watch-fires, are gleaming.

There's only the sound of the lone sentry's tread
As he tramps from the rock to the fountain,
And thinks of the two in the low trundle-bed
Far away in the cot on the mountain." — ANON.

THE regiment was not permitted to remain long at Camp Banks. On the morning of the 23d, orders were received to pack up every thing, and move across the Potomac to the vicinity of Arlington Heights. By noon, the companies were in motion. Nothing transpired on the route worthy of mention, and at night the men turned into a field, about a mile from Washington in a straight line, on the Potomac, or rather on the canal which crossed it just above this point. The night was passed in the open air, in consequence of the tents not having arrived in time. The place chosen for the camp proved to be an unfortunate selection, on account of its dampness and the heavy fogs at night; and, after remaining one day and two nights, the camp was removed to Fort Albany, an earthwork just commenced upon the most elevated spot of ground on Arlington Heights, overlooking not

only Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, but the country round about for nearly a dozen miles in every direction. In the vicinity of the capital, and throughout the country, it was pretty generally expected that Beauregard would follow up the advantage he had gained on the 21st instant, collect troops and munitions of war as speedily as possible, and lay siege to Washington. A formidable cordon of forts was therefore projected for its protection. They were to be connected by unbroken lines of rifle-pits, covered ways, and breastworks to shield infantry; and to embrace an area of at least twenty miles across, and a hundred miles or more in circumference. The forts were all located on the highest hills surrounding the city of Alexandria and the District of Columbia, and were constructed of earth, timber, and some masonry, in the most thorough and careful manner. They contained wells, bomb-proofs, and magazines; were surrounded with ditches, fringed and planted with abatis of sharp-pointed branches; and mounted variously a dozen, fifteen, twenty, or more guns, of every caliber. To give these guns the widest possible range, forest-trees, groves, and orchards were levelled with the ground all around them; and, in some instances, houses and barns torn down or removed.

Fort Albany was situated south-west from the city of Washington about two miles, and by the road over Long Bridge four or five. It overlooked a long stretch of the Potomac River, and nearly the whole extent of the capital, from the Georgetown line above to the Washington Navy Yard below. Its heavy guns were intended to command not only the river and city in

front, but also the whole sweep of farming country extending to the south and west.

Previous to taking possession of this fort, the regiment was reviewed by President Lincoln, Secretary Seward, Col. Richardson, and others, and, after arriving there, by an aide of Gen. McClellan's. Its numbers had been somewhat diminished by discharges for disability and other causes; but those who remained were full of loyalty, spirit, and confidence in our final success. For several days, the forenoons were occupied in felling timber all round the fort, and the afternoons in battalion or brigade drills. New clothing was issued to the men; and, on the 29th of July, they were paid off to the first of the month in gold and silver.

They seemed fully to appreciate the gravity of the charge they had received; namely, to hold, and, if need be, defend, Fort Albany against assault; and entered upon the requisite preliminary drill with the big guns in right good earnest. It was an interruption to their regular duties as infantry by no means fancied by some of their officers, however; but orders have to be obeyed, and the heavy pieces were rolled backwards and forwards for the stipulated time each day, in mimic loading and firing at imaginary foes, until they were handled with the utmost celerity and ease.

About this time, crowds of visitors — friends of the soldiers, or novelty-seekers in general — used to besiege the office of the Provost Marshal in Washington for passes to the camps. In most cases, they were successful; and it was quite a treat to see them among the tents. Gen. B. F. Butler made a semi-official visit of inspection; and his honor Mayor Wightman, ac-

accompanied by Aldermen Amory, Hatch, Pray, Parmenter, Rich, and Wilson, with Councilmen Burr, Barker, Clark, and Richards, from Boston, gave us a call at Fort Albany. These visitors generally brought something with them, or left something behind them, which afforded tangible evidence of their thorough sympathy with the soldiers, and thus contributed no little to keep them steadfast to the cause.

Night-alarms were of frequent occurrence. The enemy were encamped in force within ten miles; and every regiment on our side was kept in constant readiness to repel an assault. Temporary earthworks, commanding the road for several miles, had been thrown up at various points; and from these alarms would occasionally be communicated, which aroused the soldiers of a whole brigade. They would fall into line in the darkness, wait half an hour or more, and then resume their slumbers.

Scouts and spies were, without doubt, constantly circulating through the national camps, gathering and conveying all the information needed at rebel headquarters as to our numbers, occupation, and designs. From the back country they came with fruits, pies, eggs, &c., and, under the guise of innocent hucksters, passed in and out unquestioned. Several avowed secessionists were also allowed to remain in the undisturbed possession of their houses in the vicinity, because they had not taken up arms against us, although it was well understood what their sympathies were, and what they would be likely to do under favorable circumstances.

It must be confessed that the country had hardly begun to realize the extent of the struggle before it,

or the nature of the foe with which it had got to contend. According to a special order issued by Beauregard at Manassas, July 23, all classes of citizens in Virginia were expected to contribute their quota of forage to the rebel army, and, if any should presume to deny their obligations, "constraint was to be employed."

In Richmond, Va., a call was issued for an organized association of freebooters and cut-throats, to be called the "Devoted Band." It read as follows:—

"The shortest path to peace is that which carries havoc and desolation to our invaders. It is believed that there are five or ten thousand men in the South ready and willing to share the fate of Curtius, and devote themselves to the salvation of their country. It is proposed that they shall arm themselves with a sword, two five-shooters, and a carabine each, and meet on horseback at some place to be designated, convenient for the great work on hand. Fire and sword must be carried to the houses of those who are visiting those blessings upon their neighbors. Philadelphia, and even New York, are not beyond the reach of a long and brave arm. The moral people of these cities cannot be better taught the virtues of invasion than by the blazing light of their own dwellings.

"None need apply for admission to the Devoted Band but those who are prepared to take their lives in their hands, and who would indulge not the least expectation of ever returning. They dedicate their lives to the destruction of their enemies. All Southern papers are requested to give this notice a few insertions.

"A. S. B. D. B.

"RICHMOND, July 24."

Such appeals as the above, constantly emanating from the Southern press, showed how thoroughly their leaders appreciated the nature of the crisis upon which they had entered.

With us, there might have been an equal degree of resolution ; but there was far less excitement and heat, which made our Government less mindful of minute details, and more concerned, perhaps, about comprehensive general plans.

For some time, a growing dissatisfaction had existed regarding our connection with Col. Richardson's brigade. It originated from several trivial causes, not worth mentioning, but combined to create so strong a feeling, that efforts were finally made to secure a change of position. They were not without success. On the 9th, orders were received, early in the morning, to strike the tents, pack every thing, load up the wagons, and betake ourselves to the vicinity of Bladensburg, on the other side of the river, beyond the capital. The orders were obeyed with alacrity ; and the men had just gotten their tents all down, their knapsacks packed, and their company-teams about two-thirds loaded, when the orders were countermanded. It was rumored that the enemy were advancing, and would soon be upon us. There were no other troops in the neighborhood who could work the great guns at Fort Albany ; so, for the present, we were delayed. Tents were repitched, knapsacks unpacked, wagons unloaded again ; and there was a general settling-down into the old places. But it did not last long. On the 13th, as the rebels did not make their appearance, the orders to move were again issued, and this time carried out. The command, accompanied

by *twenty-five wagon-loads* of baggage, left Fort Albany at eight o'clock in the morning, marched over Long Bridge, and through Washington, to a pleasant knoll of ground, just this side of Bladensburg (ten miles in all), through a drenching rain, where a new camp was laid out, tents pitched, and the regiment regularly incorporated into Brig.-Gen. Hooker's brigade, composed then of the Eleventh Massachusetts, the Second New-Hampshire, the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania, and the First Massachusetts Regiments.

An impression had arisen among the soldiers, in some way, that they were soon to be discharged. Several even refused to be sworn in by the mustering officer. The impression remained at least six months, and was removed at last only by time. Important appointments were made about this time to fill vacancies occasioned by resignation and death.

George H. Smith, of East Boston, was commissioned captain of Company B, in place of Edward Pearl, resigned. Charles S. Kendall, of East Boston, was commissioned first lieutenant, in place of George H. Smith, promoted; and Henry Parkinson was commissioned second lieutenant in place of Charles S. Kendall, promoted. Harry Gray, of Company B, having passed a successful examination, received the appointment of medical cadet in the army, and was ordered to report out West. Joseph H. Dalton, of the same company, was made quartermaster's sergeant. In Company F, George E. Henry was commissioned first lieutenant, and William P. Cowie, second, in place of George E. Henry, promoted. In Company G, Francis H. Ward was commissioned captain in place of Henry A. Snow, resigned; and John McDonough second

lieutenant in place of William H. B. Smith, killed at Blackburn's Ford. In Company H, Horatio Roberts was commissioned first lieutenant in place of Albert S. Austin, made commissary of subsistence. In Company I, Forrester A. Pelby was commissioned second lieutenant in place of Elijah B. Gill, jun., killed at the battle of Bull Run.

Early on the morning of August the 15th, the regiment, and every thing appertaining to it, was inspected by Gen. Hooker, who showed himself to be a thorough disciplinarian, a careful observer of every thing that went on, and a generous and friendly officer in all his intercourse with the men.

Bladensburg, near which the brigade was encamped, had considerable historical repute, although, of itself, as to size and wealth, an inconsiderable place. Most of its inhabitants were loyal to the Union, although not so outspoken, on account of threats and insults from secessionists, as they would have been in New England. The place was famous for a fine spring whose waters were said to contain healing properties, and which was much resorted to from Washington and the neighboring places. The town and its vicinity had been the battle-ground between the American and British forces, in the conflict which resulted in placing Washington at the mercy of the latter. The English had three thousand men, all veterans; the Americans eight thousand, all raw recruits, who, with the exception of four hundred seamen under Capt. Barney, had never been in a fight.

The conflict commenced about one o'clock, on the 24th of August, 1814, and lasted over three hours. The militia broke and ran for their lives as soon as

charged upon. Most of them did not fire a gun; and some ran so far on that afternoon, that it took them three days to get back again. Capt. Barney's seamen displayed more valor. His artillery kept up a galling fire upon the British lines, until he was flanked by superior numbers: eleven marines were killed by his side; and he was wounded, and unable to stand. He then gave the order to retreat, and the British at once marched on to Washington. It may be interesting to read what an English officer, named Gleig, of the Eighty-fifth Royal Regiment, who was in this action, says of it.

"The battle," he writes, "by which the fate of the American capital was decided, began about one o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted till four. The loss on the part of the English (including those afterwards killed in Washington by accident and otherwise) was upwards of five hundred men killed and wounded; among whom were several officers of rank and distinction. On the American side, the slaughter was not so great. Being in possession of a strong position, they were, of course, less exposed in defending, than the others in storming it; and, had they conducted themselves with coolness and resolution, it is not conceivable how the day could have been won. But the fact is, that with the exception of a party of sailors from the gunboats, under the command of Capt. Barney, no troops could behave worse.

"The skirmishers were driven in as soon as attacked, the first line gave way without offering the slightest resistance, and the left of the main body was broken within half an hour after it was seriously engaged. Of the sailors, however, it would be injustice not to

speak in the terms which their conduct merits. They were employed as gunners, and not only did they serve their guns with a quickness and precision which astonished their assailants ; but they stood their ground till some of them were actually bayoneted with fuzes in their hands. Nor was it until their leader was wounded and taken, and they saw themselves deserted on all sides by the militia, that they retreated."

The battle-field is still pointed out to visitors ; and the Bladensburgians are often not a little annoyed by some bantering quiz asking them the way to the *American race-course of 1814*.

On account of an act of Congress passed in 1839, making duelling penal within the District of Columbia, and the offender liable to ten years' hard labor in the penitentiary, a secluded spot in Bladensburg was usually resorted to by those intent upon redress of grievances by mortal combat. The first duel fought resulted in the death of Edward Hopkins, in 1814.

In 1819, A. T. Mason, United-States Senator from Virginia, challenged John McCarty, his sister's husband. McCarty was averse to fighting, but Mason insisted ; and he named muskets as weapons, and the distance so near that their heads would hit if they both fell on their faces. The seconds changed this, and put them twelve feet apart. Mason was killed outright, and McCarty *winged*, as they term it ; that is, his collar-bone was broken.

Here Commodore Barron killed Commodore Decatur in 1820. At the first fire, both fell with their heads only ten feet apart. Supposing themselves mortally wounded, they both freely and fully forgave each

other. Decatur at once expired; but Barron recovered.

In 1822, Gibson of the Treasury Department killed Midshipman Locke of the Navy. In 1833, Key and Sherborn exchanged shots, the first time without effect. Sherborn then said, "Mr. Key, I have no desire to kill you." — "No matter," responded Key, "I came to kill you." — "Very well, then," said Sherborn, "I *will* kill you." When the word was given, he fulfilled his threat, and Key fell dead. In 1838, Graves of Kentucky, assuming J. W. Webb's quarrel with Cilley of Maine, met, and killed him on this spot. In 1845, Jones, a lawyer, fought with and killed Johnson, a doctor. In 1851, occurred the last duel thus far recorded, between R. A. Hoole and A. J. Dallas. Dallas received a ball through the shoulder; but the wound soon healed. Hoole was untouched.

During the first night that the regiment passed on this spot, a soldier connected with the brigade, having disobeyed orders in visiting the town without a pass, was arrested, and, in attempting to escape from the guards having him in charge, shot dead. He was buried the next day, without any formality of military honor; not even a single volley being fired over his grave.

The drills which had preceded the advance into Virginia were now renewed with increased industry. Every morning, before breakfast, the companies might be seen in various parts of the field, marching, counter-marching, wheeling, double-quickening, going through the manual of arms, practising the bayonet exercise, &c.; and every officer was obliged to be up and dressed

at roll-call, which was immediately after *réveille*, or be reported delinquent by the officer of the day.

After breakfast came another drill, usually of the entire regiment, and another of the regiment or brigade at four in the afternoon. Dress-parade was at six o'clock; always concluded with a short passage of Scripture, and prayer by the chaplain.

No one was allowed to go from camp to camp, to visit Bladensburg, Washington, or the neighborhood, without written permission, signed by the colonel; and at night no one could get round at all, without the regular countersign. The Washington and Baltimore Railroad, and the principal common roads of the country, were strictly guarded day and night, and no one allowed to pass or repass without compliance with the established regulations. Many persons were halted, and some arrested and carefully examined, before being allowed to proceed. Certain individuals were suffered to traffic in provisions, clothing, and sundries, on the highway; and negroes from the neighboring farms and plantations came in on Sunday, the only time allowed them during the week, with baskets of fruit, eggs, chickens, vegetables, pies, and cake, which they were very glad to exchange for sugar, tea, coffee, hard-tack, and old clothes, when money was scarce. These poor creatures were always happy to see the soldiers, and seemed to have an instinctive conviction that they were going to do something for the benefit and elevation of their race. Sometimes they were outrageously imposed upon, and sometimes turned out to be abominable cheats; but to the former they had been all their lives accustomed, and, as to the latter, the majority had not been taught, and did not know any better.

On the 20th of August, Gen. George B. McClellan assumed command of the Army of the Potomac, and on the 23d, with several members of his staff, reviewed Gen. Hooker's brigade. On the Sunday following, Aug. 25, it was again reviewed, by President Lincoln, Secretaries Seward and Welles, and other gentlemen connected with the Government at Washington. There was considerable curiosity throughout the ranks to see men of such prominence, although they had not become so famous then as they have since ; but these reviews were by no means popular, inasmuch as they were long, tedious, lacked spirit and action, and did not seem to accomplish any thing, except to make a grand display.

The camp at Bladensburg was named Camp Union ; and, during the entire period of our stay there, regiments of infantry and cavalry from all the loyal States, batteries of artillery, wagons, tents, ambulances, and other munitions of war, were carried by the camp daily, in the cars, on their way to the front. The fresh troops were always greeted with rounds of cheers.

Twice, upon a rumor that the enemy were advancing, the long roll was beaten, and the brigade turned out to take up the line of march towards Washington ; but the alarms proved false in each case. There was a general expectation of some movement in this direction for several weeks, and it was quite common for the men to startle each other with the announcement that the cars had arrived to take the regiment on board ; but they never came, and it is doubtful whether the change was ever contemplated.

Monday, Aug. 26, ground was broken upon a lofty eminence at the right of Camp Union, for one of

the cordon of forts surrounding Washington. Men were detailed from the several companies to do fatigue-duty in throwing up the ramparts, levelling the ground, excavating the ditches, smoothing the glacis, and planting the abatis. They were industriously occupied several days; and, at the conclusion of their labors, the work was named Fort Lincoln, in honor of the President. At Camp Union, the troops practised frequently at target-shooting; and occasionally the brigade would turn out for volley firing. The first day this was done, it had an amusing effect upon the towns-people of Bladensburg; for, hearing the heavy reports of platoons, companies, and battalions, echoing through the woods, rolling over the hills, and reverberating among the valleys, they supposed that the enemy had come at last, and we had gone to fighting in good earnest. Old men and women rushed out into the streets, listened a moment, seized whatever was close at hand, and started off for the forest. Younger persons got their horses and cows together, and, driving them ahead, started after; and for an hour or two the quiet old town was in a perfect panic of consternation and anxiety.

Aug. 30th a flag-pole was erected in camp, close by the colonel's headquarters: the stars and stripes were hoisted to the top, and duly saluted by the assembled crowd. Adjutant William H. Lawrence, of East Boston, was promoted to be aide-de-camp to Gen. Hooker, with the rank of captain. That this promotion was well deserved has been proved since; for the office has been held from that day to this, and the incumbent advanced from grade to grade, until he now holds the commission of brevet brigadier-general.

Lieut. George H. Johnston, of Company E, was appointed adjutant in place of Capt. Lawrence.

Several men at this time were discharged for disability. The variation in temperature between day and night was found to be so great, and the night air to be so cold and penetrating, that none but the strongest constitutions could endure the exposure uninjured. Stout flannel was the only material proper for garments, with woollen socks and thick woollen underclothes. At least one-quarter of the sickness in our army at this time originated in night exposure, without sufficiently thick clothing. Because days were warm, thin attire was selected, and, when darkness came, instead of sleep there was a perpetual shiver.

Lieut.-Gen. Scott's assertion, that sickness kills two where the bullet does one, is undoubtedly correct; for,—not to mention intemperance,—improper diet, insufficient clothing, unavoidable exposure, and culpable carelessness, are the prolific causes of disease, which no exhortations nor warnings could induce many of the men to guard against, and whose painful consequences the most skilful medical treatment cannot avert. It is strange, but no less true, that soldiers are proverbially regardless of the preservation of their health. What may occasion the universal indifference on this point, is, perhaps, open to dispute, but, that it exists, no one who has lived among military men will deny. The French are far more particular in this respect than we are. Their men are never allowed to camp in insalubrious localities if it can possibly be prevented; and on a march, to see his soldiers throw themselves upon the damp ground, covered with perspiration, would make a French captain furious. He has no intention

of adding to the list of his foes fever and ague, rheumatism, bowel-complaint, neuralgia, pleurisy, or consumption; and no intention of seeing the hospital recruited at the expense of his reputation. In the items of food and clothing, great care is taken that the former shall be well selected and thoroughly cooked, the latter strong, of good material, and well made. In our own army, the surgeons were seldom consulted regarding the propriety of camping in one locality or another, and far less frequently called to examine clothing or inspect food furnished by the several departments; and, as a natural consequence, there was a vast amount of preventable suffering and sickness endured, and large numbers of men discharged for disability, or buried, whose lives and health, by the observance of proper precautions, might have been preserved.

The proximity of Camp Union to Washington and Bladensburg made it a place of considerable resort for civilians; and a large number availed themselves of the opportunity to come and pay the soldiers a visit. Accompanied by his honor Mayor Wightman, of Boston, Hon. Linus B. Comins made us a call on the afternoon of Sunday, Sept. 8th, Hon. Mr. Wright, of Bladensburg, being also one of the party. They addressed the soldiers for a few minutes in a strain of patriotic earnestness, and were heartily applauded. About this time, Dr. Samuel H. Green, who had been assistant surgeon of the regiment since its organization, received the appointment of surgeon to the fourth battalion, and bade us farewell. He was succeeded by Dr. Francis LeBaron Monroe, who had already seen four months' service with the Boston Light Artillery, sta-

tioned successively at Mount Clair, near Baltimore, at the Relay House, and at Annapolis.

Camp-life at Bladensburg was not without agreeable episodes, relieving the monotony of military routine, and giving both officers and men something to talk about and remember. On the 30th of August, a grand entertainment was given in honor of several young ladies living and visiting in the vicinity. Several tents were pitched together so as to make one long, open space for the tables. This was handsomely decorated with flags, and adorned with flowers and bayonets, arranged in clusters representing stars, halos, &c.

The bill of fare was elegantly gotten up on embossed paper, and read as follows : —

Petit Souper en Bivouac.

Compliment aux Demoiselles

SMALL ET MATHIOT.

Par les eremites de la

PARKER HOUSE MESS.

Service du Soir, 30 Août, 1861.

POISSON.

Saumon fumé à la Gridiron.

Vol-au-vent d'Anguilles en Potomac.

PLATS FROIDS.

Jambon de Phipps en tranches minces.

Poitrine de Poulet.

Cotelettes de Porc en Germantown.

ENTRÉES.

Salade de Poulet.

Pasticcia, Maccaroni, Con Fegatelli.

PÂTISSERIE ET CONFITURES.

Gateau de Custard, Yankee.	Marmelade de Pommé.
“ “ Pommé.	Naranja Alembar.
“ “ Washington.	Gelatine de Veau.
“ “ Aux fruits.	Blancmange à l'Union.
“ “ à l'Epongé.	Confitures de Péches.
“ “ à l'Escritore.	“ “ Perses.
Gnocchi fritti.	

FRUITS.

Apricots secs de Damas.	Mélones de Agua.
Figues.	Mélones Cassabar.
Raisins.	Péches.
Noix diverses.	

BOISSONS.

Thé, Café, Chocolat.
Lait au naturel.

The following German couplet finished the bill :—
*Ehret die Frauen. Sie fletchten und weben. Hemm-
lesche Rosen ins izdische Leben.*

The regimental band was present and performed choice airs, polkas, marches, &c., which, while the officers and their guests enjoyed inside, the men improved outside by dancing on the ground.

Reports had reached the military authorities in Washington, that in some parts of Lower Maryland parties were recruiting cavalry and infantry for the rebel army ; also that arms, uniforms, and other munitions of war were there concealed, and that a large amount of material affording aid and comfort to the enemy found its way through this region into the rebel lines. Rumor also asserted that forcible interference would be made at the approaching State election, so as to secure the return of the rebel ticket. It was therefore

deemed advisable to send a regiment or two of infantry, and a few hundred cavalry, so that the secession proclivities of the inhabitants might be held in salutary check. Orders were accordingly issued for the First Regiment to prepare five days' rations, and be in readiness to cross the Annacosta at six o'clock the next morning, Monday, Sept. 9. Long before daylight the order to turn out went round from tent to tent. Accoutrements were made ready, haversacks stuffed as full as possible, knapsacks packed and laid away; and at six o'clock precisely, in light marching order, the line was formed, band playing, colors flying, and colonel at his post ready for a start. The march commenced shortly after, and continued, without opposition, through a semi-hostile country until night, when the soldiers bivouacked in an oak-grove, not far from the quaint old town of Marlborough.

The earth was their bed, their canopy the sky; and before morning a pretty smart shower reminded them that the windows were all open, or, in other words, that they were all out of doors. Marlborough, or "Upper Marlborough," as it is known in the gazetteers, is a post village situated on a branch of the Patuxent River, which runs into Chesapeake Bay. It is the capital of Prince George's County, twenty-three miles southwest of Annapolis, Md., and contains about one thousand inhabitants. The river is navigable to the town, which gives it considerable commercial importance. It contains, besides a court house, jail, and church, some private residences, which indicate good taste and considerable wealth on the part of their occupants, but others which show plainly the contrary.

The people were moderately disunion or non-com-

mittal in their sentiments, but emphatically desirous, like the arch-head of the Rebellion, to be let alone. No arms or uniforms were found among them, although several houses were searched from cellar to attic; and the regiment moved on. While crossing the Patuxent into Anne Arundel County, a scow, on which were several of the cavalry, capsized; and, during the confusion which resulted from the accident, a lieutenant from Kentucky was drowned.

The roads in this part of the country were wholly unwallled and unfenced passways right through the centre of plantations. The plantations themselves were divided from each other by fences, and the passways closed by large gates swinging entirely across the road. Every mile or so, in travelling over the country, one of these gates would be encountered; and the occupant of a carriage would have to get in and out twenty times or more in course of a day's ride. The plantations varied greatly in size and appearance. Some were thrifty, well kept, and evidently profitable; others looked barren, desolate, and forsaken. Wheat, rye, oats, and corn were growing, with acres and acres of tobacco. Huge barns appeared on nearly every plantation for drying and storing the weed; and large quantities seemed to be on hand, waiting probably for a rise in prices. Stock was quite abundant, especially pigs; and the colored people were more numerous than the whites.

It came in my way to see considerable of these colored people, two-thirds of whom were slaves, and, feeling curious to ascertain their actual condition, to ply them with numerous questions. They were not very

communicative until questioned, but answered readily enough if addressed kindly.

One morning, having lost my way, I called at a negro hut and hired a colored man to pilot me to the road I sought. As we proceeded I asked him, —

“Are you a slave?”

“Yes, sar.”

“To whom do you belong?”

“Massa Simson.”

“How long have you been a slave?”

“Ever since Ise born.”

“Are you married?”

“Yes, sar.”

“Is your wife a slave?”

“No, sar.

“Are you not afraid they will sell you away from your wife?”

“Nobody’ll buy me.” (He was old and quite lame.)

“How much are you worth?”

“’Bout six hundred dollars.”

“Why does not your wife work and buy you?”

“She’s tryin’.”

“Should you like to be free?”

“Reckon I should.”

“What would you do? come North?”

“Reckon not.”

“Why not?”

“Couldn’t get along; rather stay here.”

“Is your master for the Union?”

“No; he’s secesh, I reckon.”

“Are there many secesh in this country?”

“Yes; a right smart lot.”

"Do they tell you they are going to beat?"

"Yes (with a grin); always say that."

"How many slaves has your master got?"

"'Bout thirty field-hands."

"Would they like to be free?"

"Reckon they would."

"Is he good to them?"

"Mostly, but have to work hard, sometimes Sunday." (Sunday is the negro holiday.)

"Well, you may rest assured and tell them so, that it will not be many years before you will all be free, and can go wherever, and do whatever, you please that is lawful."

He turned suddenly, as if to answer me, but just then we heard a voice shouting from a door-yard on the left, "Halloo, Pete! you, Pete, there! whar you goin'?"

"Goin' to show this gemman the road, massa."

"Massa Simson," said he to me aside.

"Well, come right back," said Massa Simson somewhat anxiously, beginning to feel already, no doubt, that human chattels were a very slippery species of property.

"Yes, massa."

He soon put me right, pulled his wool as I paid him, and said in parting, with an expression of incredulous sadness on his dusky features, —

"I hopes all you've told me'll come true one o' these days."

The extravagant fondness of these people for fine clothes and trinkets was very amusing. Bright-colored handkerchiefs, jewelry, ribbons, expensive dress-fab-

rics, &c., called forth rapturous expressions of approval and enjoyment.

One man followed me over a mile to feast his eyes upon a new pair of doeskin pants, which had just arrived from Boston. He asked if he might feel of them, and rubbed his great hand over the nap as reverently as though it were sacred.

"Baltimore cloth?" he asked.

"No; Boston cloth, Yankee cloth: nothing in Baltimore like it."

He looked disappointed. Baltimore was evidently his "hub;" Boston was mine. Seeing he was breaking the tenth commandment in a marked and perceptible manner, I left him.

While in Lower Maryland, the regiment visited several places, such as Bristol, Smithville, Nottingham, Friendship, Lower Marlborough, and Prince Fredericktown, finding sabres, swords, revolvers, muskets, rifles, uniforms, and one rebel flag.

All these things had been carefully concealed by their owners; and in one instance two boxes were dug up from graves said to contain the remains of soldiers shot in the battle of Bull Run. The searchers after this contraband property were obliged to rely mainly upon information derived from negroes. They had observed where every thing was hidden away or buried in the ground by their masters, and it did not require much coaxing to induce them to point out the localities.

They greeted our coming among them with almost unconcealed delight, and were of the greatest possible service in affording information as to roads, the names and character of residents in the county, and the

measures that had been taken, previous to our arrival, to recruit a company of cavalry and another of infantry from the neighborhood. At the same time they caused us no slight embarrassment; for several of them, having improved the opportunity of our presence to steal away from their old plantation homesteads, and join their fortunes with ours, they were followed by their former masters; and as public opinion had not advanced then to where it stood subsequently, after some dodging, chasing, and shifting they were given up, and carried home again. One man came into the camp at Lower Marlborough, having on his neck an iron yoke with prongs a foot in length, and weighing five or eight pounds. It was filed off by the men, and sent North as a relic of the barbarism of slavery. The slave hoped to remain among us and be free; but his master, professing to be a good Union man, armed with a United-States warrant, and accompanied by the provost-marshal of the district, arrived, and we were obliged to give him up.

After a furious rain in the night, near Lower Marlborough, during which the men were lying on top of a hill, with neither trees, houses, nor barns in the vicinity for shelter, so that they became dripping wet, and the water stood in puddles, or ran in streams under them, some efforts were made to obtain their tents; and one morning they were all packed, and transported nearly to the camping-ground. But they were ordered back again, and in the woods shanties were constructed of boughs and bark instead.

Great ingenuity was displayed in the erection of these frail habitations; and, as they frequently caught fire and went off almost like a flash of gunpowder,

they afforded to occupants and observers constant sport and excitement. The cry of "Fire" rang through the woods nearly every day or night; and, in mimic imitation of a fire at home, the various city engines would be called out, and told to "play away" or "hold on," while the "unfortunate families," burned out of house and home, were provided with temporary accommodations elsewhere.

Prince Fredericktown, situated on Parker's Creek, which flows into Chesapeake Bay, proved to be the southernmost limit of the regiment's researches. This place is a post-village of about six hundred inhabitants, the capital of Calvert County, forty-six miles from Annapolis, and contains, besides several stores, a court house, jail, and church. It had been in open revolt against the authority of the United States, was the headquarters of a force of cavalry and infantry recruited for the rebel army, and had allowed the stars and bars to float above the Court House in place of the true flag.

The principal inhabitants, feeling guilty, no doubt, and fearing what might be the consequences of their misdeeds, had taken themselves off previous to our arrival. In course of a day or two, some of them began to return, seeming astonished and delighted to find that their habitations had not been destroyed nor their friends molested. Emboldened by such clemency, they entered into conversation with the soldiers, and in a short time were on most amicable terms. One declared that he should like to stay a week with us, to talk and hear the music. Another humorously said he wished we would go soon, for he could not get away from us to do his own work. For some time it was impossible

to find the secession flag. It had been ascertained that it was hauled down at our approach, and concealed in a certain field; and at last one of the companies, by thrusting down their ramrods wherever the earth had been freshly disturbed, discovered its hiding-place, and brought it forth to the light. This company was afterwards known as the Ramrod Guards.

In this vicinity, nearly a wagon-load of muskets, sabres, revolvers, uniforms, &c., were found stowed away under haystacks, hidden in closets, between floors, in cellars and garrets, and buried under ground. Two Union prisoners were also released, and a rebel jailer shut up in one of his own cells. Our band was very popular, and all classes flocked to hear the music. At dress-parade and guard-mounting, they gathered about the regiment, and obtained, undoubtedly, new ideas of Yankee drill and discipline thereby. As there were Union people in the place, they were made the objects of especial attention. The band honored them with serenades, and they were invited to visit the camp. Several gentlemen called, and expressed themselves favorably regarding the appearance and conduct of the men.

Greatly in contrast was the course of a notoriously proslavery sheet published in the neighborhood, which did not hesitate to put in circulation the most outrageous lies concerning the troops, warning colored people in one article to beware of the Union soldiers, as they already had shot one poor African, and literally cut another in two; and contemptuously remarking in another issue, that the United-States Government were certainly engaged in a creditable undertaking, sending a large body of armed men to take from an inoffensive

community a few cross-bows and pop-guns. It was plain enough where the editor's sympathies lay, and that he only spoke out what his patrons inwardly approved, but had the art or good sense to conceal.

A serious accident happened at this time to William Holmes, of Company E, by which he became crippled for life. He was standing in front of a house, talking with the owner, having his hand over the muzzle of his gun, when he attempted to get something off the hammer, having previously removed the cap; but some of the percussion-powder remained, and, when the hammer came down, it ignited the charge, sending both tompion and ball through his hands.

He was carried at once to the hospital, and every exertion made to save his hands, but in vain; one was amputated close by the wrist, and he was discharged the service.

Monday, Oct. 7, nothing remaining to be done in Lower Maryland, the regiment was ordered to report at Camp Union, where they arrived about noon, having been absent just twenty-eight days, travelled two hundred and seventy-two miles, and thoroughly accomplished the object for which they set out.

Thursday, the 26th of September, which was National Fast Day, by command of Gen. Hooker, services were held in the brigade, at which nearly three thousand men assembled. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Parker of the New-Hampshire Second, the hymns read by Rev. Mr. Beck of the Pennsylvania Twenty-sixth, the Scriptures by Rev. Mr. Watson of the Massachusetts Eleventh, and the discourse delivered by the chaplain of the Massachusetts First. Gen. McClellan having decided to arrange the Army of the Potomac

in separate columns or divisions, forming, as it were, so many separate armies, and necessitating the appointment of a major-general for each division, the Excelsior brigade, New-Jersey brigade, and our own brigade, were made into a division. Gen. Hooker was commissioned major-general, and given the command; and Col. Cowdin, as senior colonel, was placed in command of the first brigade.

On the evening of Oct. 14, after dress-parade, the orders detaching him from the regiment were read, and he made a brief parting address to the men. They were not a little affected by his words, and he carried their best wishes with him into his new and important position. Adjutant Johnson became his adjutant-general and chief of staff. Lieut.-Col. Wells took command of the regiment, and Lieut. Joseph Hibbert, jun., was made adjutant.





CHAPTER IV.

CAMP HOOKER. BUDD'S FERRY.

“Southward ho! How the grand old war-cry
Thunders over our land to-day!
Rolling down from the Eastern mountain,
Dying into the West away.

Southward ho! Bear on the watchword!
Onward march as in ancient days,
Till over the traitor's fallen fortress
The stripes shall stream, and the stars shall blaze!

By the ruddy light of our camp-fires bright,
Which blazed in the trench before us,
We sat and sang till the wild woods rang
With the echo of our chorus.

Beyond the stream, we could see the gleam
Of the fires that the foe had lighted;
And here and there in the flickering glare,
Their forms we dimly sighted.” — ANON.

DURING the fall of 1861, it became desirable to the rebels to cut off Washington from water communication with Chesapeake Bay and the seaboard generally; and for that purpose several batteries were erected along the southern bank of the Potomac, in the vicinity of Dumfries and Aquia Creek, which fired on every passing vessel, making the navigation of the river seem to be extremely hazardous, if not impossible. They had also seized upon and armed a small trans-

port steamer called the "George Page," which was located behind a point of land in Quantico Creek; and it was feared they might endeavor to establish themselves on both sides the river. To anticipate this, Gen. Hooker's division was ordered to occupy the opposite bank.

On the 24th of October, therefore, the regiment broke camp at Bladensburg, having been there and in Lower Maryland seventy-two days, and commenced the march towards Budd's Ferry. The first night they encamped directly opposite Alexandria, having marched about twelve miles during the day. The second day they proceeded as far as Piscataqua, a small village about twenty-two miles below Washington. It having been ascertained that the steamboat "Page" was getting troublesome, and troops were needed to watch her movements, on the next day the regiment was pushed through to Posey's Plantation, directly opposite Quantico Creek, — a distance of twenty-three miles. It was an excessively hard march, as the roads were muddy in places, and the men were loaded down with their knapsacks. They arrived about eight o'clock in the evening of Saturday the 26th, and at once threw themselves down behind their stacks, where they slept soundly all night. [The country from Washington down was pleasant, yet uninviting. It was heavily wooded, well watered, and fertile; but everywhere were evident the traces of the peculiar institution, whose bane and blight rested alike upon soil and people. The roads were hilly, stony, sandy, muddy, stumpy, and good, by turns, the good by no means predominating; the fences, barns, and most of the houses, rude and primitive, and the people unenlightened and semi-disloyal.]

Besides Gen. Hooker's division, one regiment of cavalry and three batteries of artillery were quartered in the vicinity, making over ten thousand men, who occupied ten different camps, scattered all along the road from Port Tobacco, which is opposite Aquia Creek, to within about twenty-five miles of Washington. The camps were located from two to six miles apart, having pickets out, which communicated readily from camp to camp; and the whole force could have been concentrated on any one point much sooner than the rebels could have crossed the river, had they been inclined to undertake it.

The rebels had thrown up earthworks on Shipping Point, Cockpit Point, and along the right bank of the river fronting Evansport, upon which were mounted heavy guns, one being a superb English Blakely rifled piece, throwing an elongated shell weighing one hundred and twenty pounds. High hills on the Maryland side afforded the troops an excellent observatory wherefrom to watch the firing; and, as the rebels seemed to have plenty of powder and ball to expend, twenty-four hours seldom passed but they afforded observers an opportunity to see what miserable marksmen they were.

The blockade continued nearly five months, and in all that time not half a dozen vessels were struck, although, when the wind was favorable, they passed daily. The pickets along the river bank, and upon a point of land beyond the Chickamoxen Creek, called Stump Neck, were much exposed; but in various ways they managed to shield themselves from the enemy's fire, so that only one was injured during the whole period of our stay, and he not seriously.

Before the regiment had left Bladensburg, a call was

made for a chapel tent large enough to shelter worshippers during the Sabbath or evening services.

The call was responded to by William Cumston, Esq., of the firm of Hallet & Cumston, pianoforte makers, Boston, who forwarded a capacious tent, furnished at his own cost, which was dedicated, and named, in honor of his liberality, the "Cumston Tent."

The division had been encamped but a short time, before telegraphic communication was established with army headquarters, and a balloon sent up, under the supervision of Prof. Lowe, to take aerial surveys of the rebel position. The telegraph was constructed within a week after our settlement at Budd's Ferry, reaching to the headquarters of Gen. Hooker, and bringing him into communication with Gen. McClellan as near as though they were seated side by side. Thus the one mind that then commanded the armies of the Union flashed instantaneously north-west and south-east along a line of battle seventy miles in extent, and controlled the movements of over two hundred thousand men as easily as a lady directs her servant about matters in the same house or room.

The balloon was one of the largest size, with a handsomely-painted portrait of Washington on the side, and capable of taking up two or three men at once. It was kept constantly filled, and, when raised a thousand feet or so, gave the aeronaut an uninterrupted survey of the enemy's positions, batteries, regiments, motions, forces, and, in fine, every thing a commander desired to know. Powerful glasses were taken up with the balloon, which showed the style of fortifica-

tions, the caliber of guns, and the locality of camps four and five miles off.

Quite a respectable flotilla of open row-boats was accumulated by the men soon after their arrival, one of which would accommodate thirty individuals. Rowing on the river was rather risky, especially if the boat was laden, for the enemy, needing practice, always improved such an opportunity to obtain it. Their solid shot and shells went over, under, and on either side of, our brave boys repeatedly, but none ever struck them.

Thursday afternoon, the 14th of November, a daring attempt was made by the rebels to burn a wood schooner which had just come down from Washington, and lay anchored about half a mile from the Maryland shore, without crew.

About fifteen of the enemy came off, under cover of their batteries, in a large boat, from the Virginia bank ; and as many more followed in another. Immediately our entire brigade was in commotion, the assembly was beaten, two pieces of cannon started off, a cavalry troop, several companies, and various individuals connected with the army, rushed for the river side, and parts of several companies of the Massachusetts First embarked in their flotilla, and rowed for the rebels. It was a most exciting chase. The batteries on the Virginia shore thundered defiance to our eager forces, and sent shot and shell after and among our boats. The rebels had so much the start, that they reached the schooner first, however, set her on fire, and dashed off before our men came up ; but the fire was speedily extinguished when they arrived, and our guns, now on the bank, at once silenced those of the other side. It was an act full of Southern dash, but all ended in

smoke, and probably taught the foe that two could play at any game they might start.

Friday, the 15th, at night, one whole company were rendered houseless by their frail shanty's taking fire from a stove-pipe. It was constructed of boughs, rails, and poles, thatched with straw, and as combustible as shavings. Nearly everybody was asleep when it caught, so that a few seconds elapsed before any attempt was made for its extinguishment, and then it was altogether too late. Indeed, so rapid was the conflagration, that several soldiers lost their guns and knapsacks. In five minutes, nothing remained of their former tenement but a few rails, embers, and ashes; and seventy men were turned out of their warm nests into the wet and cold. The usual fire and steam engines were present, of course (about every number in Boston, Roxbury, Charlestown, and Chelsea being represented), and the usual extras were issued containing a list of those burned to death, &c.; but nobody was hurt or singed, and, after a good laugh all round, the houseless unfortunates crept in here and there, leaving sleep once more supreme.

During the quiet moonlight nights, or when the air was calm and the wind favorable, in the daytime, the pickets on either side of the river would occasionally beguile the time by banter and mockery. The rebels were very fond of asking, "How's Bull Run?" or "How's Ball's Bluff?" To which our men would respond, "How's Laurel Hill?" "How's Rich Mountain?" or "How's Fort Hatteras?" As the conversation grew more animated, it became less choice, and generally ended by one party's telling the other to go to — a certain hot place where the society is not

very choice, and the sensations of its occupants reputed to be far from agreeable.

Two expeditions were formed while the regiment was stationed at Budd's Ferry, — one composed mainly of soldiers from the Eleventh Regiment under the command of Lieut.-Col. Tileston, and another under Capt. George H. Smith, of Company B, of the First Regiment, — to cut out a vessel down the Potomac River, loaded with articles contraband of war. Both expeditions turned out successfully, resulting in no loss of life or limb.

As soon as the troops were established upon the river bank, a small battery, mounting two rifled Parrott guns, was erected close by the house formerly occupied by Mrs. Budd, whose family had once controlled the ferry plying between this place and Evansport. Whenever the rebel batteries would open upon any passing vessel, these two guns would open upon them, and, thus partially or wholly diverting their fire, cause quite a lively artillery duel, which sometimes lasted for hours. The "George Page" was also struck by our gunners, and on this account anchored out of sight, behind a projecting bank.

For several weeks previous to the setting-in of winter weather, rumors had been rife that our division was liable to be ordered to Charleston, or somewhere else farther south; and on this account the troops delayed preparing their winter-quarters at Budd's Ferry. But as the days grew shorter, and the weather wet, or cold and blustering, the necessity of more thorough protection was felt, and preparations made accordingly. Long log-huts were put up by the companies, which were uniform, spacious, comfortable, and the best

quarters they ever had, excepting those at Camp Cameron. Smaller structures were erected for the officers; and all of these, being furnished with large open fireplaces, and plentifully plastered with the adhesive mud, were made warm, snug, and cosey enough for anybody's lodging-place. The camp at Budd's Ferry had been named, in honor of our major-general, "Camp Hooker."

Thanksgiving Day was not allowed to pass without due recognition and observance. The following general order, by Lieut.-Col. Wells, is inserted as a memento of that excellent officer, who, after serving as colonel of the Thirty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, and receiving the commission of brigadier-general, for gallantry in action, lost his life at the battle of Cedar Creek, in the Valley of the Shenandoah:—

"HEADQUARTERS FIRST REGIMENT MASS. VOLUNTEERS, }
"CAMP HOOKER, NOV. 20, 1861. }

"*General Orders, No. —*

"The twenty-first day of November is set apart by the Governor of Massachusetts as a day of public thanksgiving and praise. By a special order, he asks our participation in this time-honored festival. Those who have looked death in the face, and have not felt his sting, may well unite their voices with those of the loved ones at home. It is fitting that the Potomac should vibrate with the same feeling which quivers on the Connecticut and Merrimac, and along the Old Bay shore. To-morrow will be observed as a day of thanksgiving and praise. The general orders of the day will be suspended, and the following substituted:—

"While the day is to be one of thanksgiving and enjoyment, the lieutenant-colonel commanding believes

that he may trust his command that no instance of excess or improper conduct mars the day. Remember that one man may tarnish the character of a company or regiment; one indiscretion make the occasion one not of pride, but of mortification and regret."

Wednesday morning, the 20th of November, brought with it to camp most welcome visitors, in the persons of Mayor Fay, Rev. Mr. Mason, Messrs. Sawyer and Jones, from Chelsea, with all sorts of Thanksgiving comforts for the company recruited from that place. Their thoughtful and opportune generosity was most gratefully appreciated.

Thursday was one of the finest days of the season. At half-past ten, the line was formed, every man of the regiment, except the sick ones, being in place; and, after the religious services, Rev. Mr. Mason was first called upon, who assured the regiment that they had not been forgotten, nor would be, by friends at home; that hardly a Thanksgiving sermon would be preached, or dinner eaten, where they would not be remembered and spoken of. Mayor Fay followed with a brief expression of his interest in the entire regiment, especially the company (H) whose homes and friends were in Chelsea. Col. Cowdin succeeded Mayor Fay, and in one of his fervent, characteristic speeches, wound the men up to such a pitch of patriotic enthusiasm, that they gave him three hearty cheers.

Col. Wells concluded with a few pertinent reflections, freighted with feeling so tender and remembrances so moving, that tears flowed down more than one bearded cheek.

After the speaking came an unexpected mail, and a

large number of boxes by express from private hands, among them one from the East-Boston Unitarian Society, containing nearly an hundred dollars' worth of stockings, suspenders, towels, mittens, &c., much needed and most acceptable. They were eagerly appropriated, and did great good. Some fun preceded dinner, during which a couple of greased pigs were the principal sufferers; and then the great meal of the year was participated in by the different companies with a gusto heightened by the novelty of its serving-up, and very few were the Massachusetts tables spread with food greater in abundance or variety.

The line officers, — captains and lieutenants in companies, — gave a fine entertainment to Major-Gen. Hooker, acting Brig.-Gen. Cowdin, Col. Wells, and their staffs, in the evening. After the viands had been disposed of, speeches, full of patriotic allusions to Massachusetts, and devoted loyalty to the Union cause, were made by various members of the party, in which loved ones at home were not forgotten; and, about eight o'clock, the pleasant entertainment came to an end.

While in camp at Budd's Ferry, not only were the physical and spiritual wants of the command carefully attended to, but their moral and intellectual ones also. As intemperance is a vice to which armies are peculiarly exposed, before the regiment had been settled a month at Camp Hooker, a temperance society was formed, and named, in honor of its former colonel, who was a firm, devoted friend of the temperance cause, and between whose lips, amid all the temptations of military experience, never passed a drop of intoxicating liquor, "The Cowdin Temperance Society." Sergeant Frederic E. Dolbeare, Company A, was

chosen president; Sergeant William Gibson, Company A, vice-president; Private L. Edward Jenkins, Company B, secretary; and one man selected from each company to canvass the regiment, and ascertain the exact position and feelings of every man in relation to the temperance cause. Lectures, recitations, addresses, debates, and music constituted the leading features of the meetings, which were held once a week. The pledge was as follows:—

“We do solemnly swear that we will neither make, buy, sell, nor use as a beverage, any alcoholic or malt liquors, wine, or cider.” Before the camp was broken up in April, 1862, nearly two hundred men had enrolled themselves members of this society; and fully one-third of the regiment were strictly total abstinence men.

A society for intellectual improvement, named, in honor of Hon. Frank B. Fay, the Mayor of Chelsea, Mass., and one of the most generous, devoted, and self-sacrificing friends to the soldier the war has produced, “The Fay Literary Institute,” was also established, holding its meetings weekly. Corporal Joseph T. Wilson, Company B, was chosen president, with ten vice-presidents, one from each company; John A. Beyer, Company B, secretary; Hiram A. Wright, Company D, treasurer; and a standing committee of five to regulate proceedings, and furnish entertainments. The exercises consisted of lectures, addresses, debates, concerts, dialogues, and recitations, and were always largely attended, sometimes crowded. Under the management of the Institute was a well-selected miscellaneous library, principally collected and forwarded to Budd’s Ferry through the exertions

of James M. Barnard, Esq., of Boston, a gentleman signally devoted to the Union cause and the welfare of its brave defenders, then and ever since. A chess club, called "The Massachusetts First Chess Club," was also formed, of which William Emerson, Company A, was president; E. G. Tutein, Company H, vice-president; and J. A. Lakin, Company E, secretary. Their meetings for chess and other games were held once a week.

In order that professed followers of the Lord Jesus Christ might have the privilege of meeting around his table at least once a month, a church was likewise formed, and called "The Church of the First Regiment." It was anticipated that there might be some difficulty in framing a "Confession of Faith" and "Covenant," in which all denominations would coincide; but the following were adopted with entire unanimity: and from twenty to thirty members of at least ten different sects of Christians met and communed together repeatedly, in the most cordial and brotherly manner.

"CONFESSIO OF FAITH.— You believe in God, as the Creator of all things, to whom you are responsible for all the deeds done in the body.

" You believe in Jesus Christ, as the only-begotten of the Father, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.

" You believe in the Holy Spirit, as the Enlightener, Regenerator, and Sanctifier of his people.

" You believe in the immortality of the soul, in the resurrection of the body, and in future rewards and punishments."

“COVENANT.— You now solemnly covenant, in the presence of God and these your fellow-soldiers, that you will endeavor, by the help of grace, to walk in all the ordinances of the gospel blameless, adorning your Christian profession by a holy life and a godly conversation.”

A brigade hospital having become essential for the treatment of those too seriously indisposed to remain at either of the regimental hospitals, one was established in the Dunnington House, included within the limits of Camp Hooker, and placed under the charge of Dr. John Foye, assistant surgeon of the Massachusetts Eleventh.

Runaway slaves often found their way into the camp; and the following story of one, taken down by Dr. Richard H. Salter, the surgeon of the regiment, affords an illustration of how they fared in Maryland, and how they felt about it.

The man said he was fifty-seven years old, that he was still a slave, but had left his master, who resided somewhere in Maryland, about five months before, and that he greatly preferred the freedom he now enjoyed to his former bondage. His master had been very unjust and unkind in his treatment of him and his family, he thought; that he had a wife, who had blessed him with fifteen children, twelve of whom were still living; and that his present master was not his first and original one, but that his family had been scattered about among various masters, who had bought his children as inclination or necessity prompted, and carried them off to various parts of the State. He thought it was very hard that his children should be sold separately

and torn from him, but harder than all that his present master should have parted him from his wife and the three youngest children, only three, five, and seven years old.

He stated that his wife had formerly been in a feeble state of health ; and that his master, who then owned him, her, and the three remaining children, being too close or heartless to procure medical aid for her benefit, and fearing she would die on his hands, and cause a dead loss, had resolved to sell her. She was an excellent *house-hand*, he said, could sew, knit, mend, wash, bake, and do any kind of *house-work* ; but his master wanted a *field-hand*, so they were separated ; and she with her children were taken off seventeen milès, to within three or four miles of Fort Washington, on the Potomac. He further stated that her present master was very kind to her, employed the best of medical attendance, and she had become able to do "*field-work*" with others. He was allowed by his present master to visit her but once a month, and then must go on foot after work was over Saturday night, and return before it commenced Monday morning.

His master owned several horses, standing idle in the stable, but he was never allowed to use one for himself ; and sometimes the weather or roads were so bad, that he could not reach his wife till daylight Sunday morning, and then had to leave her at sundown Sunday night. She was always up waiting for him, when he came, however ; and many were the tears they shed, the poor fellow stated, when they had to part so soon again. During the other Sabbaths of the month, he was not allowed the day, as most other slaves are, but had to work.

He said that, on several occasions, when about to start off to see his wife, his master would say, "Well, George, I suppose your wife 'll die soon; then you can get another in our immediate neighborhood, and thus be saved those long tramps you take now, as well as visit your new wife oftener." — "Think of it, doctor," he said, "that the man could be so cruel. What a heart he must suppose me to have, that I could be glad to lose my wife, who had borne me fifteen children, and whom I loved with my whole heart; to have her die, that I might marry again, because it would be more convenient to have another wife near at hand! What an idea, that I could, in a moment, put away all my affection for my wife, or give it to another with the same indifference that he could sell her and her children!

"O, doctor! if you knew all the hardships of us poor colored people, you would pity us indeed. And now, if I could only have my wife and children, and we be clear of our masters, I should be a happy man again. Can't you," he said, — "can't you help me? If a few of your soldiers could go with me and help me some dark night, I could direct them to the very room in which my wife sleeps. When night comes, I can't sit down as you gentlemen can, and read; but my mind goes off to my wife and children, and I drop many a tear on their account."

The man remained with us nearly a year, and finally betook himself to Alexandria, Va., where he was joined by his wife, and set up housekeeping on his own account.

Along the rebel lines, where it was possible for our roops to visit, both in Maryland and Virginia, was

found an incomprehensible number of widows ; and the following conversation with Widow Baron will serve as a specimen of frequent talks held by our soldiers with females in a like situation : —

“ Good-morning, ma’am ! ”

“ Good-morning ! ”

“ Who lives in this house ? ”

“ I do.”

“ What may be your name ? ”

“ They call me the Widow Baron.”

“ Oh ! you’re a widow ; good many widows round here ? ”

“ Yes.”

“ Used to be very sickly, I suppose.”

“ No — yes : I suppose it was.”

“ Where are the men who used to be about here ? ”

“ Gone away ” (after some hesitation).

“ Are they in the rebel army ? ”

“ Some of them are, perhaps ” (after more hesitation).

“ Good many of them been killed, I suppose ? ”

“ Don’t know.”

“ How long has your husband been dead ? ”

“ Can’t say exactly.”

“ Didn’t he die at home ? ”

“ No : he went away.”

“ How long has he been gone ? ”

“ Can’t say ; ever since the war broke out.”

“ Where did he go ? ”

“ Towards Richmond.”

“ Oh ! he joined the rebel army ? ”

“ No : they took him off against his will.”

“ Has he ever written to you ? ”

“No: can’t get any letters through the lines.”

“How do you know he’s dead?”

“That’s what they say.”

“But you’re not sure of it?”

“No: nor any of them, except here and there one.”

Not a little sympathy was awakened at first for this large class of afflicted women with which the country seemed to abound; but speedily it became known that their widowhood was, in most cases, assumed, to enlist feeling in their favor, prevent the appropriation of their property, and other interference with their affairs liable to occur during war times.

Early in December, a deserter came over from the enemy, who stated that there were, within a few miles of us, on the opposite bank, some twenty-five thousand men, constituting the rebel right wing; that they were well fed, tolerably well clothed, poorly paid, but, as a whole, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and were supplied with the Northern newspapers regularly from some source. Most Marylanders, he said, were heartily sick of the struggle, and would follow him if they could; but that the others had a contemptuous opinion of Yankee valor, and were longing for a fight to prove their own superiority. He gave readily all the information he possessed concerning the location of regiments and brigades on the other side, the number and strength of fortifications, the condition of the roads, lay of the country, &c.; and really seemed glad to have done with the rebel cause forever. Most of the rebel rank and file were men of little or no information, of vicious propensities, and of immoral lives; but the officers were gentlemen.

A gunboat attack was made on Monday, Dec. 9,

upon a camp near some storehouses at Freestone Point, nearly opposite Camp Hooker. Two gunboats came down from the flotilla in reserve near Washington, and, standing off about a mile from the shore, began to throw shells into and near the woods. As they fired, the boats approached nearer the bank, and the rebels fled in the utmost confusion.

The shells apparently did great execution, and the reverberation of the pieces was like the roll and crash of the loudest thunder. A party landed from one of the gunboats, who set fire to the rebel storehouses, and burned them to the ground, contents and all. They took one wounded rebel prisoner, and saw two lying dead in the woods. How many more suffered is left to conjecture entirely, as but a short stop was made.

The flotilla of gunboats, — which had been lying idle just below Alexandria for three months, allowing the rebels to fire upon oyster vessels, wood craft, and provision transports with impunity, during all that time, — had received a new commander, who was determined to give the enemy shot for shot, and, if possible, silence their batteries along shore altogether.

On Sunday morning, Dec. 15, Aurelius Gray, of Company D, died in the brigade hospital, after three days' sickness. He was a great favorite in the company to which he belonged, and his body was by them sent North for interment. It may be supposed by some that war so blunts the better feelings, that soldiers become comparatively indifferent to the death of their comrades. To correct this impression, copies of resolutions passed concerning the death of Gray are hereto subjoined.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE REGIMENT.

Whereas, in the providence of God, our friend and fellow-soldier, Aurelius Gray, has been removed by death from our midst; and

Whereas it seems eminently proper and appropriate that those who have been associated with him in the army should bear some public testimony to his excellence as a man, as well as his fidelity as a soldier: therefore,

Resolved, That we deeply regret his departure from our ranks in the flower of his strength and vigor of his early manhood.

Resolved, That we bear testimony to his many virtues of heart and life, endearing him not only to the members of his own company, but also to all who knew him in the regiment, and making his memory precious to his companions-in-arms of every rank.

Resolved, That in devout submission to the will of God, who gave and who hath taken away, we can repeat the pious ejaculation, "Blessed be his holy name!" and sincerely hope that all may be as well prepared for an exchange of worlds as he was.

Resolved, That we tender to his relatives and friends our heartfelt sympathy in the bereavement which they have experienced, and assure them that he was in every way worthy of their best affection.

Resolved, That we who remain to carry on the contest from whose toils and sufferings he has been forever released, will cherish the recollection of his manly patriotism, and emulate the noble qualities which attracted around him so many strongly-attached friends.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be for-

warded to the friends of the deceased, and to the "Boston Traveller" and "Norfolk-County Journal" for publication.

JOSEPH T. WILSON, *Chairman.*

CAMP HOOKER, Dec. 17, 1861.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COMPANY.

Whereas it has pleased our common Creator to remove from us our brother-in-arms, Aurelius Gray: therefore,

Resolved, That, in this dispensation, we recognize the hand of an all-wise Providence, and bow with humble submission to the will of Almighty God.

Resolved, That in him the service has lost a brave and faithful soldier, and his companions a kind and genial comrade; and although he did not die as a soldier would wish, on the field of battle, he has shown himself as brave before the enemy as he was frank and constant among his friends.

Resolved, That we sincerely sympathize with the family and friends of the deceased in their hour of affliction, and trust that this dispensation, though seemingly severe, may be sanctified, through the grace of God, to the spiritual good of all who mourn his loss.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be forwarded to the friends of the deceased, and that they be printed in the "Boston Traveller" and "Roxbury City Gazette." Signed

C. A. BRAZER,

For the Committee.

An occurrence took place at this time which showed that the rebels were still kept familiar with every thing that transpired among the Union troops.

A couple of men, with some drummer-boys, were out

in a boat on the Potomac ; and a sudden squall coming up drove them, the tide also being against them, over to the Virginia shore, and they were taken prisoners by the rebels. They were carried through the hostile camps to the cars, and thence transported to Richmond. Arrived there, the whole party were lodged in jail. The boys were soon released, and, before being discharged, questioned closely as to the number, condition, and supplies of our men. They purposely overstated every thing, but found that their questioners knew more about it than they did ; not only where our forces were, but how numerous they were, who commanded them, and how they were clothed and fed. This was aggravating enough, but not half so much so as to have their pickets shout over the river our countersign for the night, before it had been given out to our own sentinels on guard ; which was done several times.

Close by Camp Hooker was the New-York Fourth Light Artillery. One of its members gave an evidence of patriotism not often equalled. He was a clergyman from Upper Michigan, and enlisted with the understanding that he should have some sort of a professional position. Upon arriving at Washington, he found that there was no such position for him, and that he had been imposed upon ; but he did not back out. The place of blacksmith was vacant in the battery, and he took that, serving in it faithfully until disability compelled his discharge.

Among the rations furnished by Government are hard-crackers, or hard-bread, called by the soldiers "hard-tack." When in good condition, and made in a proper manner, it is a palatable and nutritious kind

of food ; but it was so often in a poor condition, and made so carelessly, that the troops were willing to do almost any thing to get better bread in its place ; and, as it did not matter to the Government whether hard-bread was supplied or flour equal in value to the same amount, regimental bakeries were frequently established, which produced soft bread equal to the best found in the bake-shops of Boston. Additional to the advantage of having a better article of food, was the saving to the regiment of quite five hundred dollars a month, which was called the bakery-fund, and could be drawn from Government and appropriated to the good of the companies.

A strong breeze on the Potomac, favorable for the passage up or down of sailing-vessels, was sure to be taken advantage of by two, three, or more venturesome skippers, notwithstanding the thundering protests and iron remonstrances of the rebel batteries. On these occasions, the soldiers would gather along the hills to witness the shots. One Sunday in December, while they were thus engaged, one of the tents of Company F took fire ; and every thing in it, being all the property of eleven men, excepting what they had on, was totally destroyed. Guns, knapsacks, belts, blankets, clothing, keepsakes, and souvenirs, to the extent of four hundred dollars in value, were reduced to ashes in less than twenty minutes.

Christmas was not allowed to pass by in camp without recognition and observance. Companies D and K received from good friends in Roxbury a capital dinner of turkeys, plum-puddings, mince-pies, jellies, sauces, and fruits, which was keenly relished by the members, and creditable alike to the generosity and enterprise of

the donors, as every thing was prepared in Roxbury, and brought thence to the camp.

Friday, Dec. 27, an assault was made by the gun-boats "Annacosta" and "Yankee" upon the rebels intrenched at Cockpit Point. Though windy and cold, the air was remarkably clear, which enabled the gunners on both sides to obtain great accuracy of aim. Forty shots were fired from the boats in about one hour; and such was their effect, that the rebels returned but four, one of which entered the "Yankee's" fore-castle, tore away a knee from its fastenings, and did other damage, so that the boat was obliged to haul off for repairs. As it may be interesting to know how the regiment was quartered during the winter of 1861 and 1862, the following account of their barracks is submitted:—

They were built thus. A lot of men were first sent into the woods to cut down the trees. They selected the straightest, felled them, trimmed off the branches, and laid them in piles for transportation to the camp. Then came the wagons, or, in some instances, only the forward wheels of a wagon, with a company of men to act as horses; and these logs were drawn to the site of the house.

The exact dimensions were then staked out, a bed dug for the foundation-logs all round; and then the rest placed one above another, the end of the lower being notched to receive that just above it, till the walls were complete. Some of the roofs were made of boards; but the majority were poles covered with straw, and that plastered with mud, or mud-plastered poles, covered with tarred paper. The chinks between the wall-logs were filled with mud, inside and out, which,

containing considerable clay, soon hardened so as to become impervious to wind and rain.

The houses were seventy-two feet long and twenty wide, containing four compartments each, with an open space in the centre, and bunks for sleeping fitted up round the sides, capable of accommodating twenty-five men. Some had stoves, and others large open fireplaces ; so that there was no lack of comfort to the occupants, if they were inclined to take it.

The line officers had square log-huts of two tenements each, one for the captain of a company, the other for his two lieutenants, built just as the company houses were, and roofed and warmed as variously ; the roof having but one pitch, however, from the front to the rear.

Inside you could see a bed, table, chair, or camp-stool, boxes, shelves, swords, pistols, guns, &c.

The quarters for the field and staff were ten feet square, with a ridge-pole and canvas roofing, constructed just as those described above, and furnished inside according to the taste of the occupant. Some were papered, others not ; some contained a good deal, others not much of any thing ; some looked cosy and cheerful, others dreary and cheerless. Houses have souls as well as people.

Only one accident occurred in the construction of these forty habitations, by which two men of Company A — E. D. Chamberlain and J. C. Singer — were slightly injured. The company were drawing logs from the woods, and, in coming down hill, they both got thrown under the wheels. They were laid up little over a week ; and their escape from serious injury was quite remarkable.

About the 1st of January, 1862, several changes were made in the regimental roster. Lieut. Albert S. Austin, formerly quartermaster to the regiment, was promoted to be commissary of subsistence for the division, and attached to Gen. Hooker's staff. Lieut. William P. Cowie, of Company F, was appointed quartermaster in his place. Lieut. Charles S. Kendall, of Company B, was promoted to the signal corps. Capt. Adams, of Company F, Lieut. Jordan, of Company D, and J. W. Hall, sergeant-major, were detached for recruiting service; and Lieut. William Sutherland appointed temporarily to the command of Company F.

Sunday morning, Jan. 12, the steam-frigate "Pensacola" ran the gauntlet of the rebel batteries on her way from the Washington Navy Yard, where she had been completely refitted, to Fortress Monroe. The rebels, pre-advised of her coming, had thrown up several new batteries, determined to give her a passing shot, or, if possible, to sink her on the way down. It was an anxious night in camp; for we had seen the enemy digging day after day on their earthworks, and heard reports of new cannon being mounted, so that our solicitude and interest increased constantly. Some of our men, too, had brothers, relatives, or friends on board the ship; and, a week before she started, her trip down was the constant topic of camp conversation. At last every thing had been made ready, — engines, crew, stores, cargo on board, all taut above, decks cleared for action below, and a vessel with bundles of soaked hay, covered with canvas, fastened to the side exposed to the rebel shot. Various tugs and gunboats from the flotilla were to go down with her; so that, should any thing serious occur, they might be on hand with assistance.

The rebels were up all night, and seemed to know as well as we that their prey was about to pass the den of the hunter. About five o'clock in the morning, she started. With a full head of steam, going at the rate of fifteen knots an hour, and in the midst of the darkness of early morning, she approached the foe. Were they asleep? Were they deceived? What was the matter? Only twenty-two shots, where fifty at least had been expected; and not one of them hitting the mark! What did it mean? So it was. The huge bulk of the "Pensacola," crowded with men, and loaded with cannon, shot, and other munitions of war, passed within half a mile of guns which, it was said, would throw the fearful sixty-four pound shell four miles, and was not hit once. Nor did she fire a gun. The boats with her replied a few times to the shore batteries; but the prey had escaped, and the hunters had labored for naught.

After this, however, occurred a good deal of spiteful firing. Capt. Smith, of Company B, with his wife and three or four men, went up the river in a little sail-boat; and they banged away at him as though determined, if they could not bring down an eagle, they would, at least, knock over a sparrow: and every little craft that attempted to creep up or down the stream, they sent their yelling shot after with a rage as futile as it was amusing.

One night, Company C had pickets out on Stump Neck, separated from the main shore by a creek then frozen over. In the darkness, a boat, with muffled oars, approached one of them; and, when he challenged it, his answer was a volley of musketry, which sent the balls whizzing about his head in the liveliest manner conceivable. The fire was at once returned, and the

boat driven off; but the design undoubtedly was to have surprised and captured these men,—a design luckily foiled by their wakefulness and intrepidity.

One morning, a small oyster schooner was trying to go up the stream, making very slow progress, as there was very little wind. She became at once a target for rebel practice. After firing many shots, the rebel guns hit her once or twice, as she was nearly stationary; and her crew cast anchor, and came ashore, waiting for a breeze. At once, Capt. Chamberlain, of Company K, with a boat's crew of brave fellows, went out to tow her into the creek; and his appearance was the signal for renewed and angry firing. The water was not deep enough for her, however, and the attempt had to be abandoned, but not until the impotent firing of the rebels, and the cool indifference of our men, had been made equally apparent.

But the coolest thing was done by the skipper, or pilot, of the "*Mystic*," which ran up one night to Washington to prepare for daily trips between the capital and Mattawoman Creek. She was fired at *eighty-seven* times; and at nearly every shot the crew would shout defiance to the rebel gunners, and jeer and laugh at them for their wretched practice. Indeed, the engine was stopped in front of the principal battery, and the lead thrown as leisurely as though the craft was picking her way among the Newfoundland shoals. The trig little vessel was not once hit. No wonder such repeated failures exasperated the rebels! To us they proved one gratifying thing at least: that they were no gunners, and, in any thing like a fair trial on the field, would waste more powder and shot than they would use to advantage.

Acts of daring, hardly mentioned outside of the lines, were being constantly done by the soldiers during this winter, which as it was their first, and devoid of the stir of an active campaign, seemed otherwise dull and tedious.

On Sunday, Jan. 19, the barge of the regiment made an exceedingly risky trip up the river to the landing at Mattawoman Creek, under command of Lieut. William L. Candler, of Company A. It was broad daylight. A number of large boxes were to be carried to the steamboat landing, and, instead of having them placed in wagons, they were loaded into this barge by order of Col. Wells, and some twenty-five or thirty men detailed to row her up the stream. With these boxes and such a crew, she made a capital target; and soon the rebel batteries began their practice at it. Above, below, this side, and that, the deadly missiles struck, — at one time sending back from the bank sand into the boat even, but no one was hit; and steadily, regularly the gallant fellows rowed up to their destination.

Such an act of cool intrepidity is far more worthy of praise than the most daring deeds done in the heat of battle, or under the stimulus of excitement and passion. To rush up to the cannon's mouth in a glow of feverish enthusiasm shows bravery indeed; but to sit down to an oar in a crazy old boat, and keep calmly at work, when cannon-balls and shrieking shells are whizzing round, shows more. The rebels could be distinctly seen while trying to sink this barge (they always show themselves when there is no danger of being hit by the enemy); and, after firing, they would stand perfectly still, watching the flight of their shot,

and if it struck near the object aimed at, they would leap and shout with joy.

A sad event occurred Friday, Jan. 31, by which Herbert S. Barlow instantly lost his life. The regiment was just mustering for afternoon battalion drill; and, as Company F stood waiting the order to form on the line, some of the members began, in fun, to push this way and that a little. One of the corporals was told sportively that he would have to shoot some one, and replying, "he guessed he should," or something to that effect, he raised his gun, not dreaming it was loaded, and snapped it (as is constantly done by the men in sport) without any particular aim.

But, alas! it had been loaded by some one else, without his knowledge. It exploded. The ball struck poor Barlow in the right breast, went through, or fatally injured, the spinal column, and exclaiming only, "Oh, oh!" he sank down, and in ten minutes was a corpse.

Those who stood by were all horror-stricken, and none more so than the corporal so unfortunate as to fire the gun; for Barlow was his best friend, and they had but just come out of the same bunk, where, for an hour previously, they had been lying side by side together. Willingly, joyfully, would he have lain down his own life to bring back his friend's; but it could not be, and for hours he refused to be comforted.

Barlow was a young man of nineteen, the pet of his company, and left a widowed mother in Brookline, Mass., to mourn his untimely departure. The body was embalmed and sent North.

It became absolutely indispensable, as wet weather advanced and mud grew deeper, to build from all the camps, along the river-bank to Rum Point, where was

the division supply depot, a corduroy road. It turned out the best road in this part of Maryland, solid, wide, substantial. The men had some rare sport in building it, cutting down trees containing coons, owls, and game of various kinds, and, accidentally of course, tripping each other up near some hole full of soft mud, singing, whistling, telling stories, cracking jokes, and asking as they plodded along, tottering under the heavy green timbers, and spattered with mud up to the middle, "Who wouldn't be a soldier in the army?"

On the 11th of February, 1862, Gen. Hooker's entire division suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. Luther V. Bell, its first medical director, formerly superintendent of the Massachusetts McLean Asylum for the Insane. He died at his post, refusing to leave for home, although, for weeks previously, very seriously indisposed. His funeral was attended by all the officers of the division, and the remains sent home under the charge of Dr. John Foye.

Among the graduates of Harvard College in the regiment, was Capt. Edward A. Wild, of Company A, of the class of 1844. Twenty of his classmates sent him for a New-Year's present, in January, 1862, an elegant sword, of the regulation pattern, very elaborately chased, heavily gilded, with gold cord and tassels, and a shark-skin sheath. Capt. Wild became subsequently colonel of the Thirty-fifth Regiment, and lost an arm at the battle of Antietam. He was afterwards commissioned brigadier-general of colored troops under Gen. Butler.

During the autumn of 1861, strong efforts were made to obtain the commission of brigadier-general for Col. Cowdin, and secure his appointment to the

first brigade. Gen. Hooker wrote a strong letter in his behalf. Mayor George Opdyke, of New York, and other influential men, interceded for him; but, on the 19th of February, he was relieved by Brig.-Gen. Henry M. Naglee, a graduate of West Point, who took command of the brigade, and Col. Cowdin at once returned to the First Regiment. He met with a hearty reception, was honored with a serenade in the evening, after which he made a few remarks, and received six rousing cheers.

A gale in camp is quite as destructive as in a city or town. The one which, on Feb. 24, inflicted so much damage in Boston and elsewhere, was equally disastrous at Budd's Ferry. Boats were driven ashore and stove, barns blown down, the cabin of Company B's commissioned officers unroofed, the Cumston Chapel Tent prostrated, several other tents levelled with the ground, tarred paper and other roofing torn from the roofs of company houses, and things generally sent flying round the camp in dire confusion.

A couple of Whitworth ten-pounder guns, from loyal friends in England, were assigned to the division during this month, which, upon being tried by Gens. Hooker and Naglee, were found to possess great accuracy and power.

After dress-parade, Tuesday evening, March 5, Mr. Lewis Mason, on behalf of some two hundred of his fellow-citizens in Boston, presented Col. Cowdin with a superb sword having two scabbards, together with a costly silk sash, a handsome pair of epaulets, and an elegant belt. Speeches, music, and cheering followed the presentation; and a fine serenade closed the day.

Early in March, considerable activity was observable among the rebel encampments on the other side of the river. Huge fires were kept burning in certain localities day and night. Occasionally the rebels would allow half a dozen vessels to pass up or down the Potomac, without discharging a gun, and then, all of a sudden, become more noisy than ever. Several of their positions had been shelled by the gunboats "Satellite" and "Island Belle," which had caused some changes.

On the afternoon of Sunday, March 9, during a gunboat reconnoissance, the rebel batteries, to the inexpressible astonishment of Union lookers-on, were suddenly evacuated. The whole country, for miles up and down the Potomac, and far back to the rear, seemed to be in a perfect uproar. Every thing burnable was set on fire, guns spiked, gunpowder blown up; and soon dense volumes of smoke arose from all the camps, showing that they too had been fired and deserted. For over two hours, loud explosions were heard in the direction of this burning property, indicating that magazines and barracks were sharing the same fate.

The steamer "Page" likewise, and two schooners, which had been kept near the batteries, began to blaze; and every thing betokened a panic and stampede from the sacred shore so long and defiantly held. The Maryland shore of the Potomac was covered with an enthusiastic and delighted crowd of spectators; and many and loud were the cheers, as fire would break out in some fresh spot, or a magazine explode, or a gun or shells reached by the flames go off untouched.

It pretty soon became evident that the works were abandoned, and the long-expected and somewhat

dreaded passage of the Potomac could be made without a battle. Accordingly, three gunboats drew near to the land, and two barges, loaded with men from the Massachusetts First, rowed over from this side. Union flags were brought into requisition, and soon the glorious banner of freedom was floating from the Opossum-nose Battery, carried thither by the gunboat "Annacosta's" crew, and from the Shipping-Point Battery carried thither by the men of this regiment.

To Lieut. Frank Carruth belongs the honor of first waving this flag above the fortification from which so long had frowned the rebel cannon.

Our men very soon covered the works like a colony of ants. They dived into the burning magazines; spiked one of the guns which had been left loaded; found three whose muzzles had been pointing at us in the Southern style of threatening (*made of wood*); visited the cook-houses, where was fresh meat just cut for somebody's dinner; and gathered up relics of every description in the way of shot, shells, bowie-knives, battery apparatus, culinary implements, &c., with which they loaded themselves.

The next day five hundred men went over again to make thorough investigations. They found at Shipping Point sixteen heavy guns, three of which were white-oak Quakers, intended to deceive balloonists; four had been burst, the rest spiked, and the carriages split up, and set on fire.

The great gun, which threw the hundred and twenty-eight pound shell, was found loaded to the muzzle with sand, with a fire kindled near, in the hope that its discharge would ruin it. On it, in raised letters, were the words, "Blakeley's Patent, Low Moor, 1861;"

and the weight was between ten and eleven thousand pounds. This gun was brought from England in the "Bermuda."

The battery was abundantly supplied with cannon-balls, cannister and grape-shot, and shells; the defences were planned so that a prolonged and bloody resistance could be made; there was a covered way, and the gunners were screened by bomb-proofs, and their sleeping-apartments sunk several feet in the ground. But Union feet trod the places they had held so defiantly. Union hands repossessed the property they had stolen, and not a drop of blood had been spilt, not a life lost, not a man even scratched. Capts. Wild, Chamberlain, and Ward, with their companies, went out on scouting parties, in different directions from the battery, and visited all the deserted rebel camps.

They found and brought away a considerable quantity of regimental papers and private letters, which were in the hurry left scattered about the rebel quarters. The papers, for the most part, were poorly kept, and showed both a lax state of discipline among the troops, and gross ignorance on the part of the officers. The private letters were of all descriptions, from almost illegible scrawls, with all the rules of grammar and spelling set at defiance, to delicate missives on gilt-edged paper, or verbose documents with rabid changes rung on the prevailing sentiment, "Death to the Yankees!"

The deserted camps were found supplied with every thing needful for winter-quarters. The houses were built of logs, with floors and roofs of board, some having glazed windows; and one actually green blinds,

Their cooking arrangements were on the most liberal scale ; and the utensils good as to quality, and plentiful in quantity ; but houses, beds, and every thing else, in fact, were filthy to the last degree.

Five prisoners were brought over, three white and two colored. One was an English boy, not twenty years of age, who had been in the country but one year, and joined the Texas Rangers, or "Yankee-killers," as they termed themselves, from whom he deserted with evident satisfaction. All the prisoners were sent at once to Washington. The prisoners were decently dressed, and said they had been well fed, but agreed that the rebels were fast losing heart in their cause ; and some declared it was ruined forever.

Two banners were obtained ; one by Lieut. Candler, of Company A, belonging to an Arkansas regiment, with the State coat of arms and motto, "*Regnant Populi*," on one side ; and on the other, "Our rights. Peaceably, if we can — forcibly, if we must." This was made of silk, and considerably defaced. The other was a handsome satin banner, obtained by Capt. Chamberlain, Company K, with "Onward to Victory" on one side, and "The Randolph Hornets" on the other. Nearly every house of the Yankee-killers had also a black rag of some sort nailed above the door, showing that the chivalric gentlemen had at last come out in their true colors, and manifested the high-toned sentiments which had impelled them to expose their valuable lives to defend perjured robbers and lying cheats in high places.

Trophies of every conceivable variety were brought to camp, from a litter of bloodhound pups to a hundred and twenty-eight pound shell. Tooth-brush-

es, buttons, Bibles, blankets, candy, tobacco, Underwood's Boston pickles, Ames's North-Easton shovels and spades, wheelbarrows, chairs, camp-stools, powder and flasks, shot, gun-sights, cap-boxes, came over by the boat-load.

The rebel camps were abundantly supplied with every thing needed for creature comfort; and if they had been kept neat or clean, and laid out with proper regularity, would have been very creditable to their late occupants; but they were filled with vile odors. The houses were infested with vermin, damp, and black with smoke; and most of our men would sooner sleep on the ground than in one of them.

Capt. Ward found a plentiful supply of boats along the banks of Quantico Creek, and some very fine ones; but most of them had been sawn in two, or holes were bored in their sides to render them valueless.

The rebels seemed to have lived upon the fat of the land. Beef, pork, flour, bread, salt, coffee, &c., were found among their stores, not to mention whiskey, and a large case of candy.

In one instance, a table had just been set for dinner, the meat was already cut, and the cakes by the fire, showing, that from that place the occupants were in too much of a hurry to get away to stop for a lunch. The company rolls and morning reports of regiments showed that there had been great mortality among the men.

From one company of less than seventy, thirty were reported to have died. In a coffin-warehouse, where twelve ready-made coffins were found, an order came to light for twenty-four coffins to be furnished to one regiment at one time.

Orders were at once issued from headquarters to remove all property of value from the rebel position, and render it useless for defensive purposes.

After three days' work, the batteries on Cockpit and Shipping Points were dismantled. The magazine that had been left so that, upon being opened, it might explode, and blow all around it to atoms; and the great guns which had been loaded to the muzzle, and so arranged that they might burst, when the fortification was entered, — all proved harmless. The carriages were split up and burned, the guns left in the sand, or thrown over the bank, the shot, shell, and other military property loaded into lighters; and soon silence and desolation reigned along the shore so lately trodden by rebel feet, and shaken by the roar of rebel artillery.

While pursuing their tasks, the members of the First came across numbers of graves. They were laid out in streets, carefully labelled, and contained pathetic remonstrances against disturbing the repose of the dead, and violating the sanctity of the tomb, so that suspicions were engendered that the sacred dead might be brought to life again, and made to see a little more service under the sun.

Spades and shovels were accordingly brought into requisition; and speedily were exhumed, not the bodies of departed Confederates, but numbers of nice new tents, packages of clothing, mess-chests furnished with all the appliances of modern cookery, trunks of various articles, tools, &c. The grave-diggers were complimented for the success of their first sacrilegious experiment, and recommended to try again.

Among the men left behind by the rebels was one

who claimed to be a Union man, and who stated that because he refused to accompany them to Richmond, they had threatened to handcuff him, when he deliberately took out a razor, and cut his throat. This necessitated his being left; and, having been called upon by our assistant surgeon, Dr. Monroe, he freely told the circumstances to him, claiming to be a Union man, and entitled to Union protection.

After this date, we heard no more the reverberations of rebel artillery echoing through the woods and over the hills around Camp Hooker. The Potomac became alive with Union sailing-craft, and steamboats of all sizes. Thousands upon thousands of troops were transported down the river towards the Peninsula, and preparations were made, as rapidly as possible, to vacate Budd's Ferry, and join in the general advance on Richmond, by the way of Yorktown, Williamsburg, and the Pamunkey.

Congress having passed the law forbidding officers and men in the army to assist in the capture and rendition of slaves, not a few of these unfortunate beings sought asylum in the various camps. One man came along complaining he had lost two, another four, another six, of them.

Twenty-one of these bereaved and afflicted gentlemen once called upon Gen. Hooker for permission to search the various camps for their property. The permission was given. But in slave-hunting it is one thing to seek, and quite another to find. A dozen men could have been secreted in Camp Hooker, whom no slave-hunter could ferret out, unless our troops were willing.

As these traders in human flesh, yea, human happi-

ness and welfare, rode by Camp Hooker, the jeers and outeries they provoked proved, that, whatever party theory the men might maintain, their sympathies were practically on the right side.

In a certain regiment of Gen. Sickles's brigade, one of these heartless scoundrels dared to discharge a pistol at a negro who refused to stop when he commanded, and was summarily hustled out of the camp. Another took a stick to his chattel; and the chattel, sniffing the air of emancipation, wrenched it out of his hands, and gave the holder such a taste of its quality, that he called out to the surrounding soldiers to interfere. But the soldiers were law-abiding citizens from New York: it was uncongressional to interfere, and, in some singular manner, the chattel spirited himself away, leaving no token of his presence other than the ireful exasperation and aching shoulders of his former master. So the tables turned. So liberty sprang to life wherever was seen the gleam of Union bayonets, or heard the tramp of Union battalions.

Contrabands from Virginia were continually coming in. Every week or two, a squad of twenty or more crossed the river, bag and baggage, and were escorted to our provost-marshal's quarters, laughing, cracking jokes, and looking as jolly as possible.

He passed them on to Washington, where some provision was made for them by the Government, until they could be furnished with permanent occupation. One lot came from Fredericksburg. They reported that this town was evacuated, and, their masters having left them, they thought it no harm to leave their masters.

The barracks of the First Regiment were now selected for a division-hospital, and the men obliged to vacate, and pitch tents in the open field. Some grumbling arose at this ; but, by the majority, it was submitted to with good grace and in a quiet way.



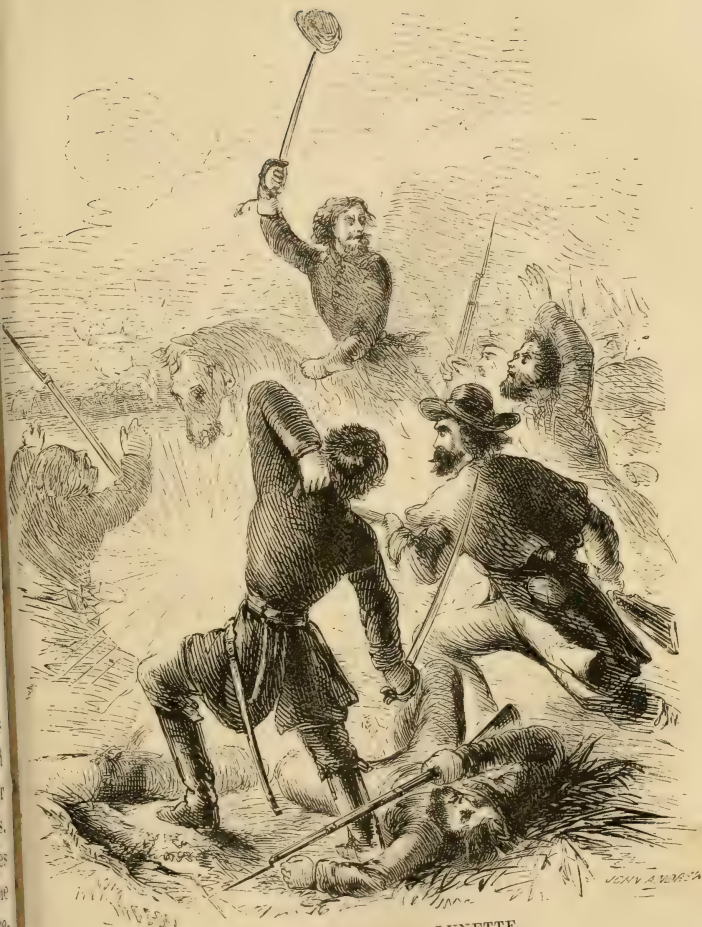


CHAPTER V.

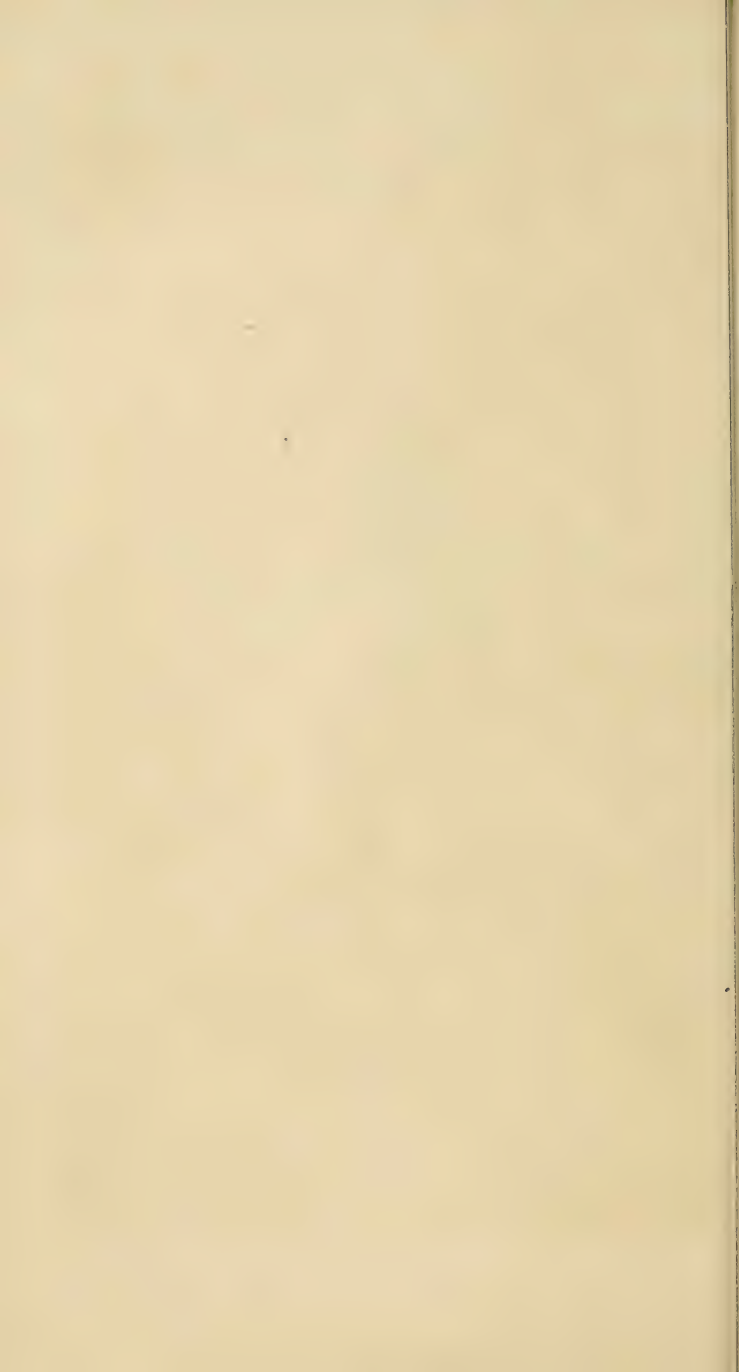
SIEGE OF YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA.

“ We wait beneath the furnace-blast
The pangs of transformation:
Not painlessly does God recast
And mould anew the nation.
Hot burns the fire
Where wrongs expire;
Nor spares the hand
That from the land
Uproots the ancient evil.” — J. G. WHITTIER.

AS soon as the soldiers were ousted from their snug quarters at Camp Hooker, and required to take up with tents again, arrangements were made to transport all superfluous baggage to Washington for storage. Wagon-loads of trunks filled with clothing, relics, &c., were sent off in consequence, together with the chapel tent and other tents, not actually indispensable during a campaign. New clothing, shoes, and caps were issued to the companies, with whatever articles were needed to complete their accoutrements; and every cartridge-box received a full supply of powder and ball. The hospital supplies of thirteen camps, with various extras obtained from the United-States Sanitary Commission, were piled up in and around the brigade hospital-building, sick officers and privates removed to the various structures assigned for their use, and a couple of lady nurses from the former division hospital ordered by Gen. Hooker to report for duty to



ASSAULT ON A REBEL LUNETTE.



the surgeon in charge. The library of the Fay Literary Institute was left for the use of the sick or convalescent, and proved not only acceptable, but very useful to them.

At the solicitation of several slave-owners in the vicinity, orders were issued that no colored persons be allowed to go on board the steamboats or sailing craft engaged in the transportation of troops ; but as grain, baggage, provisions, and stores had to be put aboard by such persons, several managed to secrete themselves on board at the same time, and, remaining invisible until the soldiers arrived at their destination, effected in this way their escape from bondage.

Friday, April 4, orders were issued to pack up every thing, and move to the transports. Accordingly, *réveille* was heard at four o'clock the next morning, breakfast was eaten straightway, tents struck at six o'clock, the line formed at seven ; and by nine, A.M., every thing was on board the steamboat "Kennebec." The men were packed in and stowed away without much regard to comfort or cleanliness ; but, as it was supposed that twenty-four hours would prove the limit of their stay, no complaint was heard. The day passed, however, and the boat had not stirred. Night came. What was left of Widow Budd's house was set on fire and burned to the ground in the darkness. Sunday dawned and passed ; Sunday night passed also. It was not until Monday forenoon, two days after we embarked, that the anchor was weighed and the engines put in motion. With us were the "South America," "Emperor," "Jenny Lind," "Pioneer," and several schooners loaded with the other regiments of our brigade, horses, cannon, and supplies.

Religious services were held on the deck of the "Kennebec," Sunday, April 6; during which an event occurred which came near proving disastrous. Several men, listening to the discourse, were leaning heavily against the vessel's rail. It proved too weak for their support, and gave way so suddenly, that, quick as a flash, three of them were precipitated into the water, and disappeared beneath the surface. Eager looks were bent upon the place where they had sunk; and ready hands caught ropes, and threw them overboard for their support. All three luckily came to the surface, seized the ropes, and were at once drawn on board, having sustained no other injury than a thorough ducking. The services then proceeded, and were concluded as usual. When the "Kennebec" arrived at the mouth of the Potomac, a north-east storm had arisen, with somewhat of a gale and a heavy sea; so that it was deemed advisable to come to anchor, and wait for it to subside. Several of the soldiers were seasick; and the steamboat's being heavily loaded caused it to roll and pitch in a very disagreeable manner.

The storm began to abate Wednesday evening, when the trip was resumed; and at nine o'clock Thursday morning the vessel was anchored off Fortress Monroe. The men were now on very short commons; had been five days instead of one crowded together like sheep in a pen, many of them seasick; and were longing for a chance to tread the solid earth once more. The next morning, at Ship Point, on the York River, they left the "Kennebec" for the woods.

While at Fortress Monroe, many objects of interest were presented to the eye. The original "Monitor," iron-clad, which had scared off the "Merrimack," was

anchored alongside, waiting for another visit from the discomfited monster. The "Vanderbilt," was also there, with its huge prow of wood and iron, ready to run the formidable rebel craft down. The Rip-Raps loomed up above the water, showing grim rows of port-holes in threatening array. Sewell's-Point and Newport-News batteries were plainly visible likewise, and the masts of the frigate "Cumberland," which heroically went down without striking her flag on the 8th of March, in conflict with the "Merrimack."

Ship Point had been fortified by the rebels, and some formidable earthworks thrown up to prevent the landing of our forces. They were evacuated upon our approach, however, without any attempt at resistance. At the landing were large numbers of troops just disembarked from a fleet of steamers, piles of quartermasters' and commissaries' stores, and ordnance great and small. Bands were playing merrily as we marched into the woods; and regiments lay over the fields in every direction, awaiting orders. The locality was found very unfavorable for the troops, on account of its low, swampy character. At any time during the day, water could be obtained by digging two or three feet; and at night, or just before sunrise in the morning, fogs and mists enveloped land and water alike. A change of quarters was therefore made on the afternoon of Saturday, the 12th; and, after a march of about six miles, the regiment encamped a few hundred feet in rear of the Poquosin River, upon land high and dry, in the midst of a growth of young pines. The appearance of the vicinity was not uninviting. There were several well-built houses, surrounded by cultivated plots of ground; and the residents, though not communicative,

were civil and respectful. Most of the men had disappeared, having joined or been compelled to enter the rebel army. The women and children who remained, though reticent and sorrowful, were not insulting. Until Wednesday, the 16th, the troops were occupied in building a wharf, loading and unloading vessels, and making themselves comfortable in their tents. All the regiments composing the brigade were encamped close by ; and both Gens. Hooker and Naglee had their headquarters in our immediate vicinity. Fresh troops were pouring in daily, and marching up in the direction of Yorktown ; and the occasional discharge of artillery, softened by distance, showed that its investment had already begun. All around us were life, activity, and stir ; and every one felt eager to press forward, and participate in the enterprises evidently on foot. Never was an army in better spirits or better condition than that which Gen. McClellan gathered before Yorktown. Unlimited confidence was felt in him, and perfect assurance that his measures would result in the rout of the rebels, not only from Yorktown, but also from Williamsburg and Richmond.

The march from Poquosin River was about four miles. On the way we passed several well-constructed earthworks commanding the roads, a couple of uncompleted forts, and some abandoned camps, where the rebels had spent the winter. Although it was late in the season, the roads, owing to the marshy condition of the soil, were almost impassable for heavy artillery ; and fatigue-parties were at work even then, constructing corduroys. Arrived at the extreme front, we were encamped under cover of a thick wood, nearly two miles from the rebel fortifications, in close order,

by column of brigades. We occupied, it was said, the very fields formerly held by the American army under George Washington; and our camps were pitched close by the spot where he received the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army on the 19th of October, 1781. Yorktown at this time, like most Virginia settlements, was in a state of dilapidation and decay. Notwithstanding its historical importance, there did not seem to be enterprise enough among its inhabitants to keep it in a neat and respectable condition. Being the capital of York County, and a port of entry, it contained a court house, jail, county offices, and some other public buildings; but, until occupied and fortified by the rebel forces, it could not boast of over three hundred residents.

On the 5th of April, the first and third divisions of Gen. Heintzelman's corps advanced upon it from the direction of Great Bethel. Averill's cavalry and Berdan's sharpshooters had the advance, on the lookout for ambuscades and masked batteries. Passing by Cheeseman's and Goose Creeks, over a swampy forest road, three miles in length, through mud sometimes up to the men's knees, they emerged into the open country about ten o'clock in the morning, and took up position in plain sight of the rebel intrenchments around Yorktown and beyond. They were evidently very strong. Some thousands of negroes had been employed upon them for several months. Berdan's sharpshooters were posted only eight hundred yards from the enemy's lines; the artillery, supported by infantry in the rear, about fifteen hundred yards. The first shot came from the rebels. It struck in the sand, doing no harm. Being immediately responded to, a

second one followed, which hit Private Reynolds, a gunner in Capt. Weeden's battery, on the right thigh. His limb was amputated ; but he died in less than half an hour. The firing now became general, and continued, without intermission, for an hour and a half. The rebel pieces were twelve and twenty-four pounders, from which they fired mainly solid shot : ours were ten-pound rifles, throwing shells.

While the artillerists were most busily engaged, the rebel gunners suffered severely from our sharpshooters. Every man was on the watch ; and, as soon as a single head or form appeared at an embrasure, the unerring rifle-ball was sent on its mission of death. At least fifty of the enemy were killed or wounded in this manner without his being able to retort. Exasperated at last, they wheeled out a howitzer to the left of their works, discharged it, and then drew it back to reload, sending at the same time a body of skirmishers into the rifle-pits fronting their works ; but the havoc continued, and, on account of it, their fire slackened, which led to a partial suspension of the conflict. It was renewed fitfully, at intervals, throughout the day, but, towards night, ceased altogether ; and our forces, having demonstrated their ability to hold the position, went into bivouac on the right and left of the Yorktown Turnpike. A little to the left of this, in plain sight of the hostile earthworks, was found an abandoned saw-mill. The engine, machinery, and belting had been left in perfect order ; and nothing upon the grounds could have been more opportune. It was precisely what we wanted to furnish planking for our siege-works ; and was at once taken possession of, and made to do good service in the Union cause.

It was thought, at first, that the fortifications around Yorktown might be carried by assault: but, after repeated and careful examinations, this idea was abandoned, as involving altogether too much sacrifice of human life; and a series of regular approaches by parallels was determined upon. By April 20, two-thirds of Gen. McClellan's army were within cannon-shot of the enemy's lines, shielded from sight by intervening woods, which hid both parties from each other's observation; and, lest our proximity might be revealed, bands were forbidden to play, drum-calls were given up, and no firing allowed except when in front on actual duty. The labors of the men were incessant, and unusually fatiguing. To prevent surprise, they were roused between three and four o'clock every morning, and compelled to stand under arms for an hour or more. After breakfast, details from all the companies were sent with a shovel, axe, or pick over one shoulder, and a gun over the other, to work on the roads, in the trenches, or among the woods. They did not return till night, and then, after turning in utterly exhausted, were liable to be called up once or more every night by a sortie from the enemy, or a false alarm from our own pickets. The rebels seemed to be perfectly aware of the strength of their earthworks; and towards the west, beyond the reach of our sharpshooters, would occasionally hold a dress-parade outside their forts in plain sight of our pickets, going through the various movements with as much nonchalance as though fighting were only a commonplace event, and warfare pastime.

During the earlier part of the siege, they made some experiments with a balloon, which was seen to rise

over the northern line of their works to the height of at least twelve hundred feet, and remain stationary for several minutes: but the attempt proved a failure, or they were dissatisfied with the result; for it was never renewed.

By command of Gen. McClellan, the entire Union position was named "Camp Winfield Scott." It extended across the peninsula formed by the York and James Rivers, from the mouth of Warwick River, a tributary of the James, to Wormley's Creek, which was an affluent of the York. A formidable chain of redoubts had been established along the line at least ten miles in length, which terminated at Gloucester Point, opposite Yorktown, in double-rank batteries commanding both river and shore.

At Lee's Mills, the southernmost point of the Union position, an attempt was made on the 16th of April to drive the rebels out of their intrenchments. Covered by a heavy artillery fire, the Vermont brigade crossed a narrow stream fronting the line of rebel rifle-pits, and succeeded in driving them out at the point of the bayonet; but falling back into a redoubt in the rear, and receiving reënforcements, not only in front, but in a flanking position on the left, they opened a cross-fire so galling that the Green-Mountain boys were compelled to fall back.

To prevent an assault upon them by overwhelming numbers as they fell back to their former position, fire was opened along the entire lines. This had the desired effect; and the men returned in good order, covering themselves with trees to the verge of the stream, and then crossed without confusion, carrying their wounded with them. The bullets flew so thick in the

stream, that one of the combatants declared it reminded him of a sap-boiling in maple-sugar time. As fast as they arrived on this side, the men, drenched as they were, faced about, and kept the rebels at a respectful distance ; while many, who were merely looking on, voluntarily plunged into the water, and rescued the wounded, who were clinging to trees, or sitting with their heads just above the surface.

On both sides a perpetual watch was kept to prevent surprise, and take advantage of any oversight committed by either party. This led to the waste of an immense amount of gunpowder, lead, and iron, especially at night, when trees were mistaken for men, fire-flies for lighted matches, and bushes, swayed by the breeze, for armed battalions creeping cautiously along on hands and knees. Most of the work in the trenches, where the details were at all exposed, was done in the night. During the daytime the risk was greater, inasmuch as the enemy could get the range with tolerable accuracy, and observe the effect of their shot. At night it was mostly guess-work. In the vicinity of every working party, some one was always posted on the watch. During the day a puff of white smoke, and at night the sudden flash of the gun, gave warning of the coming shell ; and before it reached its object, every man was lying flat behind the breastwork. To novices this labor was very exciting, and no special pains were needed to keep them awake while it was being done. But such creatures of habit are we, that, after a week or ten days, men, having completed the portion assigned them on the works, would retire a few paces, lie down, and sleep as soundly amid the roar of hostile cannon and the crash of bursting shells as

in their beds at home. Occasionally, some one would be killed or seriously injured; but such casualties were more owing to careless exposure on the part of those curious to survey the hostile intrenchments, than to the hazards attending the discharge of duty. During the day, about all the rebel cannoneers or riflemen could see of the Union fatigue-parties were the tops of their picks and spades as they were lifted above their heads, or the shovelfuls of earth that were thrown upon the ramparts; and the only general effect of firing upon these was to strengthen them, and thus expedite the very work they were eager to prevent.

The position of sharp-shooter was one of constant privation and jeopardy. Creeping out at night on all-fours to within six or eight hundred yards of the opposite lines, he selected a tree, stone, pit, or chimney, behind which to secrete himself. At daylight, every part of him must be invisible, and remain so till sundown. At the same time, he must be able to draw a bead upon some rebel angle, embrasure, or other position of importance. Whatever the weather, — warm, cold, wet, or dry; whatever his condition, sick or well, wounded, or even dying, — there he must remain till nightfall, or, exposing himself, run the risk of instant death. Among Berdan's sharp-shooters was one known by the *soubriquet* of "California Joe," who had acquired the reputation of being the best shot in the army. Many stories are told about him, undoubtedly having their foundation more in imagination than in reality; but, at the same time, it is true that he rendered signal service in keeping guns, that would otherwise have proved very troublesome, silent. Over one large piece he obtained such perfect control by picking off the

men as fast as they endeavored to load and fire it, that he called it "his gun:" and, as long as he remained in front, it truly seemed to be; for it was very seldom discharged, except at night. Other sharp-shooters had stories of hair-breadth escapes, of rifle-duels, and injury inflicted upon the enemy, most wonderful to tell; and the marvel is that they have not all been collected in a book, and given to the public.

The sharp-shooters answered the purpose of pickets in the daytime; for not a rebel showed himself above or outside the parapet but half a dozen rifle-balls admonished him to be more cautious: but at night, when the sharp-shooters were relieved, the pickets were posted as usual in the open field, supported by a reserve along the edge of the woods. Once or twice during the darkness, the rebel pickets were posted inside our lines, or ours inside theirs; a mistake that did not remain long undiscovered.

The quarters of Gens. Heintzelman, Hooker, and Naglee, were all within cannon-shot distance of the rebel parapets; Gen. Heintzelman's, indeed, being almost on a line with the first parallel; and the men saw them exposed daily to the same perils from flying missiles with themselves.

Notwithstanding the crowded condition of the camps, their close proximity to each other, and the exhausting labors required of the troops, they found time to adorn their tents, beautify their streets, set out trees, and make every thing about them look pleasant and inviting. Go where they would, these Northern men carried Northern tastes and notions with them; and in the quarters of two-thirds of them could be found the

Northern papers and magazines just as plentifully as in the same number of habitations at home.

The landing at Cheeseman's Creek presented at this time a spectacle of industry, activity, and enterprise, well worth a visit. Steamers of every tonnage and kind lay at the wharves and out in the stream. Sailing vessels loaded down to the water's edge with stores and munitions of war, piles of shot and shell of every size, rows of cannon of every caliber, boxes of muskets, fixed ammunition, clothing, hospital and sanitary stores, blacksmiths' forges, pontoon-boats, sutlers' booths, immense wheels for the conveyance of ordnance, temporary depots for the reception and delivery of commissary and quartermaster's stores, long lines of army wagons from every brigade, division, and corps, waiting to be loaded, and scores of laborers, soldiers, sailors, and civilians, rushing here and there, made up a scene of physical energy and exertion not easily forgotten.

Among the outworks of the rebels in front of Yorktown was a lunette, so named from its curved, moon-like shape, which gave them considerable advantage in skirmishing with our pickets, and harassing our fatigue-parties. It was determined to destroy it. Saturday morning, April 26, about one o'clock, three companies of the Massachusetts First, and two from the Massachusetts Eleventh, were roused from their slumbers, and, by order of Gen. McClellan, led to a point in the woods nearest the lunette which it was deemed advisable to take and destroy. The companies chosen were H, A, and I, under the command of Capts. Carruth, Wild, and Rand, respectively. The whole expedition was accompanied by Brig.-Gen. Grover, who had succeeded

Gen. Naglee in command of the brigade, under whose direction Lieut.-Col. Wells planned and conducted the assault.

The redoubt was some four hundred yards distant from the woods, and was approached through an open cornfield, every inch of which was commanded by a powerful rebel battery.

Companies A and I acted as flank and reserve, and Company H made the charge. Ten minutes after the command "Forward, double-quick!" was given, the redoubt was taken at the point of the bayonet, and the enemy were flying in confusion through the woods. Immediately the two companies of the Eleventh were ordered forward with shovels and picks; and in less than an hour the redoubt was levelled to the field, and the work destroyed. Having accomplished their gallant exploit, our troops retired through a terrific fire of round shot, shell, grape, and canister, and returned to camp.

The charge of Company H was made just at dawn of day, over an open field, every foot of which was exposed to battery and rifle-pit fires, yet not a man faltered. "Forward, double-quick," over miry, uneven ground they went, in too much of a hurry to fire, with bayonets fixed, and determined to take the works, or die in the attempt. When within a few yards, the men raised a shout for Old Massachusetts: through the ditch, and up the parapet, over went the gallant company; and the rebels, who previously had been pouring in a deadly fire, broke and fled in every direction. The picks and shovels of the Eleventh quickly accomplished the destruction of the redoubt.

Company A was out in the field under fire, and

Company I in reserve if H should need support ; but H had nobly and thoroughly done its work.

There were about seventy men in Company H, which made the brilliant charge described. They never fired a shot till they reached the ditch in front, when they fired one volley, and leaped the ditch.

Privates Patrick J. Donovan and John M. James, with Orderly-Sergeant Manderville, were the first within the redoubt on the right, and Lieut. Chandler the first on the left, closely followed by Corporals John H. Newling and William A. Smith, and Sergeant C. H. Carruth.

One sergeant and fourteen privates of the enemy's force were cut off by the fire of Company A of the Eleventh Regiment, and captured.

Before the charge was made, Lieut.-Col. Wells addressed Company H almost in a whisper, the enemy were so near, reminding them that this was McClellan's first order since the siege began ; that the honor of Massachusetts was in their keeping ; that they had stood by him once, and he depended upon them to stand by him again.

Nobly did the men respond to his words, and well did they sustain the honor of the dear old State which sent them forth to fight under her banner !

As they advanced, man after man fell wounded or killed, volley after volley was poured into their ranks : but straight onward, with a rush and a shout that nothing could resist, they went, till the enemy fled, and the works were their own.

When they were retiring, the rebels commenced a brisk cannonade from the forts to the left, which were not more than seven or eight hundred yards distant.

In good order, our skirmishers retired in the midst of this heavy fire from the enemy's artillery. Shells were bursting all around, scattering dirt over many; but the regiment had been so well drilled in skirmishing, that the company came in cautiously, without losing a single man. No one thought of running: on the contrary, all seemed reluctant to leave the field of action.

The only drawback connected with this brilliant achievement was the list of killed and wounded. Walter B. Andrews, George A. Noyes, and William D. Smith, of Company H, were killed almost instantly; and Allen A. Kingsbury of the same company, shot through the abdomen, died in the course of the day.

Thomas Chittick, Company H, was wounded in the left leg, below the knee; William Grantman, received one bullet through the left groin, and another in the left thigh; George L. Stoddard, bullet through the left groin; George W. Campbell, bullet through the left thigh; William H. Montague, bullet through the left leg, below the knee; Horace A. Lamos, bullet through the left foot; George H. Stone, bullet through the left thigh, a serious, ghastly wound; William H. Lane, bullet just above the knee; William T. Wright, bullet through the right side, a severe flesh wound, very painful, but not considered dangerous; Oliver C. Cooper, bullet through the fleshy part of the left leg; Stephen Wright, Company I, scalp wound on the left side of the head. Three others, William P. Hallgreen and J. W. Spooner of Company H, and Thomas Archer of Company A, were injured so slightly, that they remained on duty after the fight just as before.

The wounded were temporarily accommodated in

our regimental hospital, and subsequently carried to Cheeseman's Landing, where the best preparations had been made to receive them on board the splendid steamer "Commodore," and where skilful surgeons, Sisters of Mercy, and attendants, were in waiting to supply them with an abundance of every thing needed for their comfort and cure. The contrast between the muddy fields, the wet woods, the narrow shelter-tents, the rough fare, and hard life of the camp, and the spacious warm quarters, soft beds, gentle nursing, and constant care, on board this boat, made them almost forget their wounds, and bless God they had come out to defend a country so thoughtful of her heroes when prostrate and helpless.

The dead were deposited, after appropriate funeral ceremonies, in a tomb constructed for the purpose, in the side of a hill, and on Wednesday, the 30th of April, sent North for re-interment. They were received at the depot by a committee of the Chelsea city-government, having with them two hearses provided by Charles White of Chelsea. The hearses were draped with American flags, and the horses wore heavy black plumes. The bodies were taken to Chelsea by way of Charlestown Bridge. The flags in Charlestown and Chelsea were all at half-mast.

It is probable that there was never so great a throng of people in the streets of Chelsea as assembled to receive the bodies. A procession was formed at the bridge, and escorted the hearses to the City Hall, in the following order:—

Police force, under City Marshal J. E. Burrell.

Chelsea Brass Band ; J. E. Messenger, leader.

Chelsea Rifle Corps, forty-two rifles, under Capt. A.

J. Hillbourn, and Lieuts. George B. Hanover and J. H. Perry.

City Committee in carriages, followed by the hearses, and a long procession of citizens marching four and four.

At the City Hall a prayer was offered by Rev. Alanson P. Mason ; and the bodies were then taken into the upper hall, and left in charge of Hillbourn's Rifles, a guard of honor of eight of whom occupied the hall at night.

After public religious services, they were placed together in the receiving-tomb of the Garden-street Cemetery.

Subsequent to the assault of the 26th, the rebels manifested more vitality than before, keeping up a regular fire at intervals during the day upon our gunboats, earthworks, fatigue-parties, and picket-reserves, and making night fairly hideous with the rattle of small arms, the roar of heavy cannon, and the scream of flying shells.

Picket-duty also became unusually hazardous and trying. The whole regiment would be roused at midnight, supplied with rations for twenty-four hours, and before daylight marched into position but a few hundred yards from the hostile batteries. A few trees, a ravine, a fence, a house, barn, shed, chimney, big rock, or hay-stack, were all they had to shelter them from the enemy's shot ; and here, with every sense on the alert, the pickets had to watch and wait till their time was up. Sometimes it was cold and rainy, and the men had to lie flat in the mud on their faces for hours to avoid shot and shell. Sometimes a sudden attack was made, and several were driven in, surrounded, shot, or made pris-

oners. Sometimes a perpetual fire of musketry or cannon was kept up from the opposite side, to which they responded or not, according to orders ; and sometimes nothing transpired worth mentioning. Two nights' sleep were lost at the least, and no slight hazard encountered.

The daily work and dangers of the men were various. The regular drills were interrupted ; but inspections were more frequent than ever to make sure that guns, equipments, &c., were in perfect order. Work on the trenches was done by every regiment in succession along the whole line. Sometimes as many as ten thousand men were at it at once with shovels, picks, and spades, guarded by others near at hand, with loaded muskets or rifles, and saluted by charges of grape, canister, or shrapnel, from the rebel batteries.

On the 29th, one man was killed and another wounded. The one killed, foolishly exposed himself, going outside to pick up a piece of a shell. Another shell was fired at him which took off half of his head, and wounded a comrade at the same time.

While at Yorktown, Lieut. Charles L. Chandler, of Company A, was detailed upon the engineer corps, stationed with the staff of Gen. McClellan. This gallant young officer served in the First Regiment until August, 1862, when he was commissioned captain in the Thirty-fourth. He remained with the Thirty-fourth till March, 1864, when he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Fortieth, and shortly afterwards transferred, with the same rank, to the Fifty-seventh veterans. He fell mortally wounded in the engagement on the

North Anna River, near Hanover Court House, Va., May 24, 1864, aged only twenty-four years.

Acting Adjutant Joseph Hibbert, jun., of the First, won for himself the approval of Brig.-Gen. Grover, on account of his gallantry and efficiency during the affair of the 26th, and was immediately promoted to be his assistant adjutant-general with the rank of captain. Lieut. Charles E. Mudge was elected to the post of regimental adjutant, and held it from that time until the regiment was mustered out of service, May 25, 1864.

As the Yorktown batteries approached completion, and one after another the heavy mortars and two hundred pound Parrott's were placed in position, the rebels manifested a continually increasing uneasiness. During the 3d of May they kept up an incessant din with guns of every caliber, and awakened the expectation of an assault along the whole line. Wishing to know what it might portend, Gen. McClellan made a balloon ascension directly in front of the First's regimental line. As soon as the balloon rose above the tops of the trees, it was greeted by a perfect storm of missiles, which came flying into the camp, and bursting all around him; so that he was obliged to come down, and ride away without making much of an observation. During the night, the firing was kept up in a furious manner, filling the Union troops with wonder as to what the rebels were intending to do; but about three o'clock in the morning it suddenly ceased. The pickets listened, but could hear nothing; they rose to their feet, trying to peer through the darkness of the early morning, but could see nothing. They crept slowly and cautiously forward, and met with no opposition. Finally

they reached the hostile breastworks, jumped into the ditches, scrambled up the ramparts, — *the rebels were gone !*

Under cover of the brisk artillery-fire of the preceding day and night, they had evacuated the place, carrying with them their sick and wounded, all their portable supplies and light artillery ; leaving in our hands seventy-one heavy guns, with large quantities of ammunition in the unexploded magazines, hundreds of tents standing just as their troops had occupied them, the town of Yorktown with not a building burned or destroyed, and the entire line of fortifications from Lee's Mills to and including Gloucester Point, upon which had been expended months of labor, and which proved far more formidable than was at first supposed. The main body of the rebels had been gone four hours before their departure was discovered. Their rear-guard kept at work on the heavy guns as long as they dared, and then followed the retreating column. It took but a short time to spread the news. Notwithstanding the incredulity with which at first it was received, and the fears felt in all quarters that it might prove nothing but what was termed "a sell," the evidences that came in from the front accumulated so rapidly, and engineers, pickets, and fatigue parties asserted it so positively, that all unbelief and distrust of it speedily disappeared ; and then it was astonishing to see how, as by enchantment, the whole spirit and aspect of Camp Winfield Scott changed, and how ninety thousand men, released from the hazards of picket-duty and sharp-shooting, from the drudgery of trench-work and corduroys, from the silence and restraint of previous wearisome weeks, from the expecta-

tion of the morrow's bombardment, and the dread of the fearful assault to succeed it, from the whole weight and monotony of the prolonged and tedious siege, — became possessed of and pervaded by the exhilaration of a mighty and triumphant joy, and were ready to go anywhere or do any thing that "Little Mac" might command, so thoroughly had he won their confidence and admiration by acquiring possession of Yorktown and its defences without a battle. No longer was silence imposed upon bands, drums, or fifes; and from every direction they broke forth into patriotic jubilation, giving "Hail Columbia," "Red, White, and Blue," "Star-spangled Banner," "Glory Hallelujah," "Yankee Doodle," "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," and even "Dixie," in rapid succession, while bass drums, snare drums, fifes, and bugles, with cheers intermixed, filled up the intervals.

But it soon became evident that there was work to be done of a more serious and important nature. Deserters began to come in, who declared that the enemy had only fallen back a short distance, and were then in possession of a better-chosen and more strongly fortified position than Yorktown itself. They said also that the determination to evacuate Yorktown was formed by Gens. Lee, Johnston, Magruder, and Jefferson Davis, who, having examined Gen. McClellan's parallels, and observed the damaging effect of his heavy siege guns, came to the conclusion that the Yorktown defences would not much longer be tenable, and resolved to fall back without waiting for an assault.

Orders were issued forthwith for an immediate and vigorous pursuit. Gen. Stoneman's cavalry were straightway in the saddle, and, with a detachment of

flying artillery, advancing rapidly beyond Yorktown in the direction of Williamsburg. They overtook the rear of the retreating column in a few hours, and immediately forced the rebels to an encounter. Our cavalry charged upon them where they stood at bay, and the enemy attempted to hold their ground, maintaining for a short time a hand-to-hand conflict. The artillery on both sides soon became briskly engaged, when the rebel cavalry broke and fled.

They were followed but a short distance, as Gen. Stoneman was without infantry supports, and they retired within the Williamsburg intrenchments.

Meantime all was bustle and excitement in the camps around Yorktown. The sudden termination of the siege without a battle was unexpected, but none the less acceptable; and when orders to prepare for an immediate pursuit of the enemy were circulated, they were obeyed with alacrity. Rations were served out, or left to be brought forward in the wagons. The sick were separated from the well, and sent to Cheeseman's Landing for hospital treatment. Tents were struck, camp property gathered together, and guards appointed for its protection; and, by ten or eleven o'clock, most of McClellan's army was in motion towards Yorktown. Along with the troops went a corps of telegraphers, putting up poles, and extending the wire as they proceeded, and making almost as rapid progress as the infantry. The roads led on the left through Warwick Court House to Half-way House, some six miles south-west of Yorktown, and on the right straight into Yorktown itself by the regular turnpike from Fortress Monroe. The roads were covered and bordered with the *débris* resulting from military operations, and

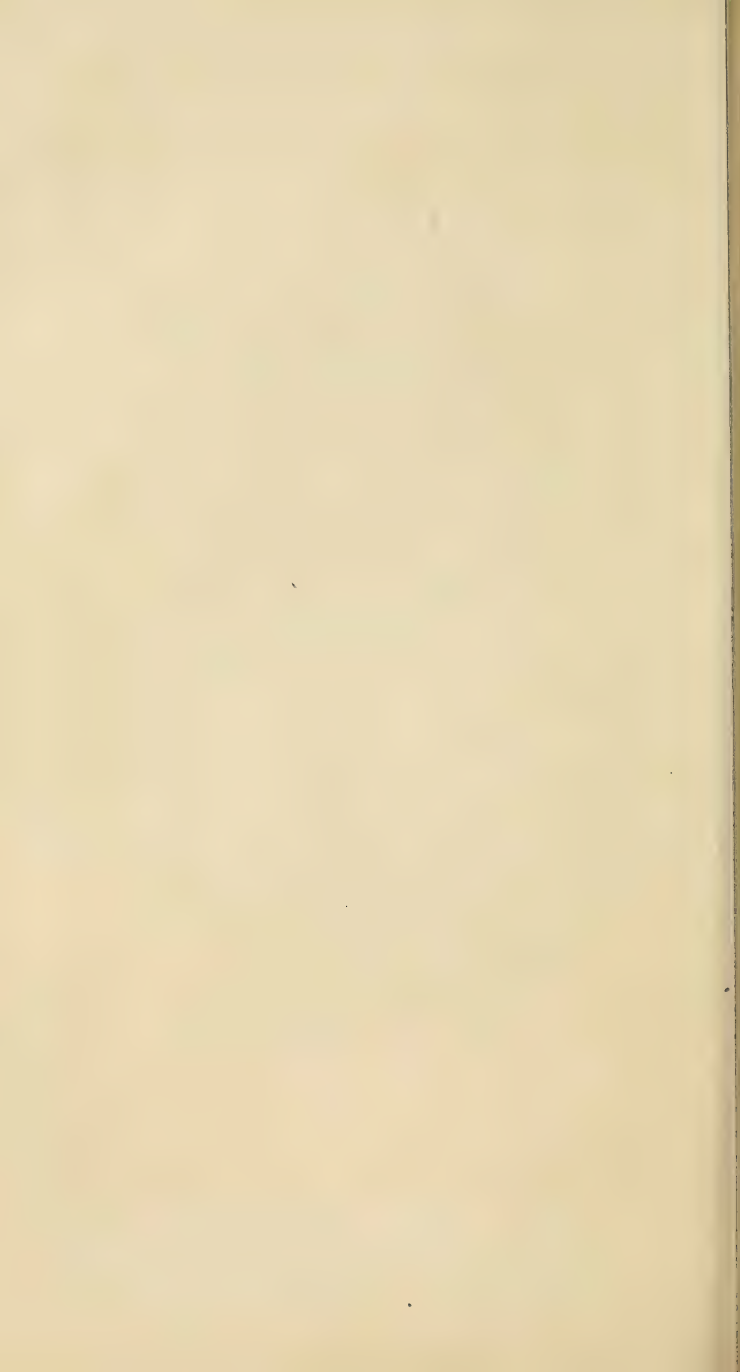
the nostrils were greeted at every turn by an overpowering stench, arising from dead horses, pools of stagnant water, or heaps of putrid matter gathered and left to rot in the sun. Stumps of trees, blackened and charred with fire, abandoned caissons, broken-down army-wagons, with here and there a single uninhabited hut or half-ruined barn, completed a scene of unmitigated desolation, above which in the distance soared Prof. Lowe in his famous balloon, "The Intrepid," watching whither over the distant roads the retreating foe had gone.

Arrived in sight of the Yorktown fortifications, the stars and stripes were seen waving from the flag-staff within; and various regimental banners were planted upon the ramparts. Union sentinels paced to and fro along the parapets so lately a shield to the enemy; and the huge guns stretched their iron muzzles over the walls as though to welcome our approach. The rebels, we found, with an infernal ingenuity, had thickly strewn torpedoes in the way before us, hiding them under coats, putting them in pitchers, carpet-bags, and barrels of flour, planting them in the vicinity of springs, tents, magazines, and storehouses; and before night, four or five of the unwary or fool-hardy among our forces had been killed by them, and a dozen more or less severely wounded. As fast as found, they were marked in some manner, generally by a small flag; and Gen. McClellan compelled the prisoners that were taken to remove them.

To G. W. Rains, of the Fayetteville Arsenal, belongs the unenviable distinction of having constructed these diabolical engines of torture and death; and to his

brother, Gen. Gabriel J. Rains, the discredit of their arrangement about the works.

The rebel magazines were all found in excellent condition, and most of them contained an ample supply of powder and ball. They had ventured to explode none of these, fearing it would lead to the discovery of their intended evacuation, and perhaps prevent it from being carried out. Inside the town, every thing was in good order, showing that it had not been occupied by the troops. The Nelson mansion, formerly headquarters of Lord Cornwallis, rose far above every thing else about it; and the ten, fifteen, or twenty feet structures of ancient date around it, looked as they might have done when Judge Nelson indignantly aimed a gun from the American trenches upon his own residence. Just beyond the town were several rebel storehouses, constructed of rough boards, but spacious and weather-tight. One of these, containing, among other articles, ammunition and shells, was burning as we passed it; and the frequent explosion of the latter, throwing fragments in every direction, compelled our men to give it a wide berth. In means of transportation, it was found that the enemy were very deficient. They seemed to have pressed into their service every thing in the shape of a wagon, even to common ox-carts. The consequence was, that, every mile or so, the regiment would come across some broken-down farmer's wagon, which had given out and been abandoned. In some of these, valuable property was discovered.





CHAPTER VI.

BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.

“ I sit to-night by the camp-fire’s light,
While the dismal rain is falling;
And in my breast beats a heart oppressed
By a sense of gloom appalling.

The earth is red with the blood of the dead,
Which to-day flowed free as water,
Till the night came down with sullen frown,
And put an end to the slaughter.

By the turnpike wide, on the steep hill-side,
In field and wood they are lying;
And the air is sown with the feeble moan
Of the wounded and the dying.” — ANON.

HAD the rebel rear not been hard pressed by Gens. Stoneman and Hooker, it is doubtful whether the battle of Williamsburg would ever have taken place.

It seems to have been the intention of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the main body of the rebel army, to fall back behind the Chickahominy, await the arrival of Smith and Whiting, who moved up the York and Pamunkey Rivers to Whitehouse, and there make a determined stand for the defence of Richmond. But the rapid movements of Gens. Stoneman and Hooker interfered so seriously with the safety of his trains, that, to cover them, he was obliged to tarry during the night of the 4th of May in the Williamsburg defences, and

was caught there with a formidable portion of his army, early Monday morning, the 5th. These defences consisted of a series of inconsiderable redoubts, stretching across the peninsula, from Queen's Creek on the right, to Achaershape Creek on the left, covering the whole interval from water to water, about a mile in front of the city. Fort Magruder formed the principal work of this chain, and mounted several guns capable of delivering a raking fire over all the roads and fields approaching Williamsburg from the south-east. Soon after noon, on Sunday, the 4th, the right and left wings of the Union army formed a junction at Halfway House, seven miles from Williamsburg. The right was halted, and the left passed on ahead. The right followed, passing over the same road, and at nightfall came to the scene of Gen. Stoneman's cavalry skirmish. In a church close by were fifteen or twenty of the wounded, some in a dying condition; and lying about, in the woods and on a road leading to the left, here and there could be seen a dead body.

Such of the cavalry as could speak represented the enemy as numerous and full of fight, but bent upon falling back if they were only let alone. That seems not to have been the policy of the Union generals, for they pressed on through the untrodden forest, and over a road full of pitfalls made by the retreating enemy, and did not halt till they had passed the first line of outworks, which had been abandoned as we approached, and arrived within two miles of Fort Magruder. The troops here went into bivouac at midnight, and slept soundly upon their arms until roused by a gentle rain about three o'clock. At daybreak, they were re-

formed, and the march taken up towards Williamsburg. For a mile and a half the road was clear, and no indication of the enemy discernible. Just as we caught sight of the open plain in front of Williamsburg, however, there was a sudden halt; and soon after the discharge of half a dozen rifles told us that our advance guard had encountered their pickets. Preparations were made at once to ascertain, if possible, their numbers and position. A strong skirmish line was deployed to the left of the road, extending through an abatis of felled trees and standing wood, occupying a ditch in front of the rebel rifle-pits, and completely enfilading the road leading to Fort Magruder. The parapets of this work had been constructed so low, that, when the artillerists were standing upon their gun-platforms, nearly half of their persons were exposed. As soon as they began to fire down the road and into the woods, therefore, they became excellent marks for our skirmishers, who in the course of an hour entirely cleared the ramparts, and kept the guns silent during the rest of the forenoon. The rain had continued to increase, and was now pouring down in torrents.

With great exertion, a battery had been brought up and planted just in front of the woods to the right of the road. Its commanding officer and several of the men were severely wounded by the first fire from the rebels; and this disheartened the rest so thoroughly, that they obeyed the instinct of self-preservation, and retired. Determined that the guns should not be silent, several volunteers sprang forward, and worked them without orders. The ground was soft and spongy where they stood; and, the rapidly accumulating moisture making it more so, the guns sank lower and lower

every time they were discharged, until, at last, the axles of the carriages actually rested on the soil. In this situation, they were assaulted and taken by the enemy, but had to be abandoned and left in our hands again, as they could not be lifted out of their miry beds and dragged off by hand.

The advantage of position during all this time rested entirely with the enemy. Their rifle-pits dotted the open field by the hundred in every direction, from whence their sharpshooters leisurely picked off our men whenever they exposed themselves. Their redoubts and infantry-covers, to the number of twelve, afforded an almost impenetrable shield to their swarming battalions. Their artillery was on high ground, with a solid foundation to rest upon; and their forces were perfectly familiar with the ground, knowing the exact situation we must occupy whichever way we turned. At the first of the skirmishing, which was rapid and vigorous, the enemy retired, thinking, no doubt, that the whole of Gen. McClellan's army might be drawn up in the woods, about to make an assault. But, as their expectations were disappointed in this, they began cautiously to feel their way out, and in the course of a couple of hours approached the woods and abatis by the left oblique, crouching in ravines, skulking behind trees, and creeping along with the least possible exposure of their persons. In this way, during the confusion of rapid firing, amid the obscurity of woods and bushes, half hidden by the condition of the air, which smoke and rain had made thick and misty, they advanced two or three times in line of battle, and drove back our skirmishers on the left to the infantry reserves, but received from them each time such a withering

fire, that they were obliged to retire in turn, and were invariably followed up by a stronger line of our skirmishers.

The conduct of the rebels in advancing and retreating among our wounded and dying, was much more considerate and humane than we had been led to expect from their former treatment of them at Blackburn's Ford. They helped themselves to Springfield rifles, to cartridges, gun-caps, blankets, overcoats, and some clothing, without asking permission; and assured our men most confidently that we were going to receive a disastrous defeat: but in repeated instances they gave the thirsty water to drink from their own canteens, and placed injured men in more comfortable positions, or where they would be out of the range of flying balls.

It did not seem to be Gen. Hooker's intention to advance beyond the woods bordering the plain in front of the rebel defences, although evidently his determination to hold this position at all hazards. At the same time, it was a manifest cause for exasperation to the rebels that they could neither draw us forward nor drive us backward. They had advanced three times in large numbers, penetrating far into the woods; and, with their right half surrounding our left, they had sent a heavy column down to the right of the road, as we stood, forcing back our front, and temporarily holding the guns of the battery which had been abandoned. They had every reason to suppose, that according to all the usages of warfare, having been driven from the front, and repeatedly broken on the left flank, we should see that we were outnumbered or outgeneraled or out-fought, or beaten in some way, and fall back.

As we were not inclined to do as we ought, reinforcements were sent for to compel us. A portion of Johnston's army, which had been in full retreat, was hastily summoned back. The exact position of our forces having been ascertained, two lines of battle were at once drawn up to attack us on the left flank and in front at the same time.

Our skirmishers who had kept Fort Magruder's guns silent, having been drawn in to be assigned to a new position, the guns were again opened upon our lines, throwing shot and shell by the right flank as fast as they could be loaded and fired. Branches of trees cut by the flying missiles fell upon and among the troops as they stood or lay concealed behind trees and stumps. The sharp-shooters of the enemy, hidden in trees or behind fences, kept up a desultory fire; the hostile columns, numbering at least ten thousand men, were advancing nearer and nearer; the New-Jersey brigade was already engaged, pouring in volley after volley in splendid style, and literally mowing the enemy down in ranks, as a farmer mows his grass; the storm was sweeping along the lines of the Excelsiors, and a few pattering shot among the leaves and branches foretold that soon it must burst upon the first brigade in all its fury. And in all its fury it did come! In one dense mass, through the woods and fields and down the road, clad in blue coats, in black coats, and in no coats, but most of them in broad-brimmed, light-colored felt hats, the rebels came, and formed almost within pistol-shot of our line. Eye-witnesses assert that some of their regiments bore the stars and stripes, and others the white flag of truce. Be that as it may, their faces were full of resolution; and they

had evidently determined to decide the fate of the day by this assault.

Receiving our fire before theirs was delivered, they were considerably staggered by it, and their line wavered as though the men were about to break, but, at the command and entreaties of their officers, they recovered themselves, and crowded forward from tree to tree, loading and firing with the utmost rapidity, shooting down our officers and men, making gaps in our ranks, which they hastened at once to take advantage of, and pressing ahead so firmly, and with such overwhelming numbers, that at last they broke through and turned the flank of one entire brigade. The men were exhausted by cold and rain: they were covered with mud, and wet up to the waist; some of their cartridge-boxes were empty; and others could not fire because the charges in their guns were saturated with moisture. Nothing but the courage and address of Gen. Hooker here saved his entire division from defeat, and hundreds of his men from capture. The significant movement to the rear had already begun. At first manageable, it would speedily have turned into a stampede, and then become a panic. The general sat upon his well-known charger in the centre of the road, immovable as a rock. Bullets were flying about him like hail, and cannon-balls throwing up the mud in columns. Once his horse was wounded, and the general was dismounted in the mire; but, quickly springing to the back of another animal, he rode this way and that, halting the disorganized ranks, encouraging the despondent, rebuking the cowardly, praising the brave, ordering and imploring the men to stand as they were. At the same time, a line of cavalry was posted across the road with drawn

sabres, and commanded to cut down every unwounded soldier who attempted to pass. The regiments had been broken up, and even companies completely disorganized. Officers without soldiers, and soldiers without officers, stood for a moment in suspense and hesitation, but then formed, as if actuated by a common impulse ; and, as the rebels pressed forward to follow up their advantage, turned upon them like a thunderbolt. Astonished, startled, and arrested in their career, they ceased their yells, and looked for a minute to see what it meant ; and then, as their own forces gathered up behind them, like the accumulating waters of a mighty torrent arrested midway by an immovable dam, they poured in an angry, spiteful, and scattering fire, which made a great deal of noise, but did very little harm. At the same time, by command of Gen. Heintzelman, the bands commenced playing national airs, which cheered our half worn-out troops, and added to the bewilderment of the enemy. And, better than all, at the same time, Gen. Philip Kearney, and Gens. Berry and Birney came up, their men on the double-quick, puffing and reeking with moisture, and spattered all over with mud. They were welcomed with tears of joy, which ran down over more than one anxious and battle-stained cheek, as they splashed eagerly along. They went upon the field as a strong man rejoiceth to run a race. With irresistible impetuosity, but in long unbroken lines, they advanced, pouring in volley after volley, throwing away knapsacks, overcoats, and blankets, crowding up into the very faces of the rebels, who now stubbornly contested the ground inch by inch, but forcing them back inch by inch, and allowing the weary fellows who had borne

the brunt of the engagement to form in the rear as a reserve, and see the work which they had so gallantly begun as gallantly completed.

At the same time, a battery of twelve-pounder Napoleon guns, brought forward with almost incredible labor, was planted in the road and field above the abatis, and began to send spherical case and round shot crashing through the forest into the disorganized ranks of the retreating rebels. Faster and faster flew the deadly missiles among them, as they withered and melted away under the scorching volleys of Gen. Kearney's division; and at last they broke from the woods, scattered in wild disorder over the plain, formed for a few minutes behind the redoubts, and then fell back towards the town, leaving their dead and wounded in our hands, and the hard-fought field in our possession. The artillery was immediately moved to secure the range of their retiring forces, and prevent any attempt at a stand on their part to retrieve their falling fortunes; but, after a few rounds, no answer was returned to our battery, and the roar of battle ceased.

Why Gen. Hooker's single division, of not more than ten thousand men, was allowed to bear the brunt of eight hours' hard fighting with three times their number of rebels, during this sanguinary engagement, while at least forty thousand men were allowed to rest on their arms, within hearing of the guns, without firing a shot, is yet to be explained.

Repeated messages were sent back for reënforcements, as before noon it had become apparent that we could not hold our position without them; but no notice was taken of the call. To the credit of our

three brigades and every regiment composing them, be it said, they did not yield a rod of their ground until fairly forced back by numerical superiority. Until one o'clock, the enemy had evidently supposed that the woods, whose front line was occupied by our skirmishers, were full of troops formed in lines of battle, awaiting the order to assault. Numerous rounds of grape and solid shot were directed at this imaginary army; all of which were thrown away. Determined to ascertain, if possible, why we remained so pertinaciously under cover, they advanced in force, in front and on the left, with the result already described.

During all this time, it was raining without intermission, mud and water were knee deep; and many of our troops, having had nothing to eat for twenty-four hours, nor slept much for forty-eight, were utterly exhausted. But they would not give up. They had faith that the enemy could be beaten, and would be beaten: in fact, they were determined that he should be beaten. In this they were fully sustained by their general and other officers. Many of the officers took muskets, rifles, or carabines, and mingled in the front rank among their men, loading and firing with the rest. In Gen. Daniel E. Sickles' brigade (the Excelsiors), they had a new kind of gun, mounted on wheels, that went with a crank, and discharged, perhaps, a hundred balls a minute. These were energetically worked, and did good execution. Most of the day the fight had been almost entirely an infantry engagement. Owing to the nature of the ground, cavalry was unserviceable; and until the enemy *en masse* were approaching, and leaving the woods, artillery had but little effect upon them. At that time, however, it contrib-

uted largely towards rendering their discomfiture final and complete.

The most furious fighting of the day took place in the woods on the left flank, where the attempt was made to turn or surround our forces. From two o'clock until nearly five the enemy held on here, pouring in battalion after battalion of fresh men, who came into line with triumphant shouts, as though victory were already won. But they shouted too soon. With an obstinacy and determination that nothing could shake, our men received their onsets and maintained their own position. It was the vital point of the battle; and around it pressed thousands on both sides, so near, sometimes, as to see the color of each other's eyes. It was a point we had never given up, although, in the conflict over it, our lines had been contracted perhaps one-half. It was a point we held when the reënforcements arrived, and settled it decidedly in our favor. Thenceforth it became the study of the enemy how easiest to get off.

Meantime, upon our right, Gen. Peck, of Gen. Keyes's corps, had been actively engaged for several hours, fighting more in the open country bordering the Yorktown Road, and without much loss on either side. The enemy kept carefully concealed within his redoubts until near the close of the day, when Gen. Hancock, having advanced his lines so, they supposed, as to expose his rear, they prepared to make a detour, and crush his forces between two attacks upon front and rear at the same time. The artillery, being of little service in such a condition of things, was hastily removed; and Keyes's men prepared to give the enemy a proper reception. They came on, four thousand

strong in infantry, with a regiment of cavalry to follow up the assault. Before they had time to carry their designs into execution, when not over two hundred yards distant from our columns, Gen. Hancock placed himself at the head of his men, and, waving his cap ordered them to charge on the double-quick. The order was obeyed with a will. The men threw themselves upon the enemy's front rank with such impetuosity as to scatter it in every direction, while those who were in the rear broke, and fled for their lives.

In the confusion that ensued, over three hundred of the enemy were cut off and captured, while our loss did not exceed in killed, wounded, and missing, one hundred. This decided the fate of the day on the right. It was fast being decided upon the left. By eight o'clock quiet reigned on both sides; and the Union troops prepared to bivouac near the spot they had so bravely held and obstinately defended. Never can the writer forget the appearance of the soldiers, as they stood in line in vicinity of their stacks, and proceeded to make ready for the night. Ninety-nine in a hundred were young men, but they seemed in one day to have grown prematurely old. Their faces were pale and haggard; their eyes preternaturally bright, with dark half-circles underneath. Still quivering with excitement, which it seemed impossible to repress; shivering with cold, for they had been drenched to the skin all day; muddy, hungry; stooping with weariness, but triumphant, and full of talk concerning the incidents of the battle,—they hovered round their blazing fires, drying their clothes, or, with the least possible exertion, prepared a resting-place, and threw themselves upon the ground for sleep.

The wounded had been temporarily accommodated during the battle by tents at a field-hospital close by where the fight was going on. Their wounds were inflicted mostly by solid shot and shell, and were of a serious character. Loss of blood, and the wet condition of every thing, made them very cold; and in every direction they were shivering as if in ague-fits. Stimulants were freely administered, but they did not seem to produce much heat; and finally it was resolved to move them to some sort of shelter. With considerable difficulty an old barn and house, two miles to the rear, were obtained; and thither, one by one, they were carried on stretchers, in blankets, or ambulances, while such as could walk hobbled along painfully on foot. From the barn all the doors and one end were gone, and the house was so dilapidated that it threatened momentarily to fall down.

Ere long all the floors were covered with prostrate and bleeding forms, to whom every attention was paid as fast as possible; the worst cases always receiving it first. An impression may prevail that surgeons are eager to perform amputations, and frequently remove limbs, which, by suitable attention, might be saved. Nothing could be more erroneous. During and after a battle, surgeons are kept so busy that they avoid all the capital operations they possibly can, so as to gain time to relieve miseries of an inferior degree. Only when it is a question between limb and life, or when the limb, if saved, would prove useless and an encumbrance, do they determine upon its removal. Frequently may be seen half a dozen or more surgeons in consultation while a battle is going on, and the wounded being brought in by scores, to see if some

measures cannot be devised by which limbs can be saved.

Early on the morning of the 6th, scouts reported that the enemy had evacuated Williamsburg during the night, leaving all their wounded, besides all our wounded they had captured, several guns, tents, barracks, some stores, and their entire line of works, in our hands. Details from the different companies were at once ordered out to scour the battle-field, and bring in the wounded of both sides, should any be found. The field presented a sight revolting and bloody in the extreme. Dead and wounded lay about in every conceivable posture and condition, most of them covered with mud and blood combined. As the tide of battle ebbed and flowed through the woods and across the abatis, first the rebels would hold our ground, then we would hold theirs, consequently friend and foe were mixed up together, and frequently lay in death side by side. Many could be seen also in the same attitude in which they had fallen, — their hands extended, as if holding up a musket; one arm raised high above the head, as though ramming down a charge; or a hand stretched out, holding forward a cap or a sword. Scattered over an area covering three or four miles square, dotting ravines obscure and shady, crowning summits bold and open, or crouched in ditches, close together, by the dozen, they lay harmless enough then, shot through head or body, and no more to battle for Union or Disunion. They were buried, not side by side, but friends with friends and foes with foes; and, where it was possible to ascertain their names, their graves were carefully marked, and they were left to their everlasting sleep. It was not long before the

victorious troops, singly and by squads, were investigating the condition of things in Williamsburg. Being the oldest incorporated town in Virginia, — situated on elevated land midway between the James and York Rivers, surrounded by farms capable of producing vegetables, cereals, and fruits, in the greatest abundance, — it enjoyed advantages of soil, site, and climate, apparent at once. It was first settled in 1632, and in 1698 became the seat of the Colonial Government. It is regularly laid out, with streets intersecting each other at right angles ; and can boast some public buildings and private mansions of considerable architectural elegance. Before the war, its population numbered over two thousand, a large proportion of whom were blacks. Most of the white people were thorough-going out-and-out secessionists, puffed up with an insane idea of their own importance, and credulous of the most absurd stories concerning the rapacity, degradation, and cruelty of Yankees. During Sunday and Monday, they remained quietly at home, comforting themselves with the belief that the Southern army could not be defeated, and that they could dispose of such of our wounded as we might leave behind after the fashion of Blackburn's Ford and the first Bull Run : but, when they beheld Johnston's broken columns hurrying through the streets in full retreat, dreadful consternation seized them ; and a large number, gathering hastily together all their valuables that were portable, took to flight in the direction of Richmond, while others bolted their doors, closed their shutters, fastened their windows, and betook themselves to the back rooms of their domiciles, filled with the most dismal forebodings of coming atrocities, which they had been

repeatedly assured the "Hessian mudsills" would assuredly perpetrate. Finding themselves unmolested as to person and property, however, they ventured gradually to come forth; and a few silly girls and senseless women made a parade of their personal antipathies in the hospitals and on the streets, by doing every thing they could for the Rebel wounded, and as little as they could for the Union wounded; taking special pains to avoid contact, even of dress, with any one wearing the army blue. Their folly reacted only upon themselves; for they were compelled to treat our soldiers courteously, or remain at home. Even their own friends in the rebel army rebuked them for carrying things with such a high hand, making them see that they were doing the Southern cause more harm than good.

In Williamsburg, besides many empty private houses, and the Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist churches, were a lunatic asylum, female seminary, and the buildings of William's and Mary's College; so that the wounded of both sides were provided with ample accommodations. As fast as they could bear removal, however, they were conveyed to the hospital steamers "Commodore" and "Daniel Webster," for transportation to Fortress Monroe; where, with fine quarters, a cooling breeze from the ocean, the best of nursing, and plenty of every thing needed for cure or comfort, they became rapidly convalescent.

It was truly refreshing to meet in this old and dilapidated town, where nearly every thing had gone to seed, one prominent Virginia lawyer, Judge Bowden, whom neither arguments, persuasions, nor threats could make recreant to his constitutional obligations,

or force to swerve a hair from his loyalty to the Union. Occupying a handsome modern residence on the principal street, and being a well-known public man throughout the vicinity, his stubborn adherence to the National Administration made him peculiarly obnoxious to the fire-eaters, comprising, at this time, the main bulk of the rebel army; and once he was obliged to fly for his life. Several times the excited soldiery gathered round his mansion, shouting, "Lynch him!" "Tar and feather him!" "Hang him!" "Shoot him!" "Kill him!" "Pull his house down!" "Burn it up!" and so forth: several shots had been fired at it, and windows smashed with stones; but generally officers who were personal acquaintances had succeeded in pacifying or controlling the mob before they had proceeded to extremities, and thus saved him. It can easily be understood wherefore he wept tears of joy as he saw the stars and stripes borne along in front of his house by our victorious ranks, and why he said that our first volleys, on the field below Williamsburg, made the sweetest music he ever heard in his life. He openly entertained the field and staff officers of the First Regiment while it was doing provost-duty in Williamsburg; and, though surrounded by secession neighbors, made no secret of his unqualified support of the Union. The professors and students of William's and Mary's College had been scattered by the war, many of them serving in the rebel ranks; so that no classes were in session during our occupancy of the town. The institution was founded in 1693, and, just before the war, had a president, five professors, one hundred students, and a library of fifty-three thousand volumes. Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and

Tyler were graduates from its halls; and Chief-Justice Marshall and Lieut.-Gen. Scott were once among its students.

It is supposed to have been Gen. McClellan's original intention to move his army up on both sides of the James River, and assault the rebel capital on the north or south, according to circumstances; but the presence of the iron-clad "Merrimack" in the James frustrated this plan, and compelled the selection of the York River for a base of operations, instead of the James. On the next day succeeding the battle of Williamsburg, therefore, a large portion of the Union forces, comprising the corps of Gens. Sumner and Franklin, embarked on board transports at Yorktown, and proceeded up York River to a place known as West Point, where the Mattaponi and Pamunkey Rivers come together, and combine to make the York. No doubt it would have been grateful to the commanding general could the fight at Williamsburg have been delayed a day or two, and Johnston's army induced to tarry until the troops of Sumner and Franklin could have cut across the flank of the rebel lines from West Point, and come down on the left bank of the Chickahominy in their rear; but they were pressed so hard by Gens. Stoneman with the cavalry, and Heintzelman and Keyes with their artillery and infantry, that they made a virtue of necessity, and fell back along their whole lines. The troops of the rebel Generals Whitney and Smith, who had retreated from Yorktown along the York River to West Point, before they started on the morning of the 7th, made a feint of assaulting the Union position, and poured in an annoying fire from the dense woods where they were posted, which

lasted several hours. Every effort was made to draw them out upon the open plain, but without avail; and they were shelled out of their lurking-places by the gunboats, which just then opportunely arrived, while our forces immediately occupied the ground. The whole body of the rebels then fell back behind the Chickahominy, their left occupying Whitehouse until May 10, when they were ousted by Gen. Stoneman, and fell back upon Cold Harbor, Mechanicsville, and New Bridge, successively. During their retreat from Yorktown, until they were driven into and beyond Richmond, large quantities of military property, secreted or abandoned by them, were found hidden in barns under the hay, stowed away in houses some distance from the roads, or strewed along their line of march; and every thing evinced their disheartened and demoralized condition. From towns and villages along the route most of the store-keepers had fled, taking their goods with them; and those who remained utterly refused to have any thing to do with rebel money. Some of the inhabitants told strange stories to our men of their individual experience, showing, that, even then, Jeff. Davis had begun that relentless system of conscription and appropriation which robbed the South not only of its best young men, but also of its productions and resources, in a most unscrupulous and suicidal manner. The official list of killed, wounded, and missing belonging to the Massachusetts First, at the battle of Williamsburg, is hereto subjoined. Although the regiment was constantly under fire, they were spread over so broad an extent of territory in doing duty as skirmishers, that they were less exposed

to casualty than if they had been drawn up in two ranks as during ordinary fighting : —

Killed. — Company A : Private Curtis W. Grover, Barrington. Company B : Private James Redding, East Boston. Company D : Orderly-Sergeant Charles A. Brazier, West Roxbury ; Private Warren R. Shackley, Roxbury. Company E : Private George W. Burditt, probably of Milton. Company F : Private William W. Stone, Charlestown. Company I : Private William R. Benson, Newton Corner.

Wounded. — Company A : Joseph Francis, mortally ; John T. Robinson, severely ; John H. Whitney, severely ; Benjamin F. Pierce, severely ; George A. Bailey, slightly ; Charles D. Griggs, slightly ; Wm. J. Manery, slightly ; John Abrams, slightly ; Frank Getchell, slightly.

Company B : Henry H. Brown, slightly ; Edwin G. Brown, slightly.

Company C : Sergeant Amasa Johnson, severely ; William C. Hatch, severely ; George W. Campbell, slightly.

Company D : Nelson Taylor, lost left arm ; John W. Fairbanks, severely ; Samuel A. Fillebrown, severely.

Company E : Capt. Clark B. Baldwin, slightly ; John S. Wilcutt, severely ; William O. Young, severely ; James A. Lakin, slightly ; James D. Leatherbee, slightly.

Company F : First Lieutenant George E. Henry, slightly ; Corporal George Stevens, Jr., dangerously, subsequently died.

Company G : William S. Hoyt, slightly.

Company I : Augustus P. Goodridge, slightly ; Ser-

geant Andrew Bertram, severely, subsequently died ; Jeremiah Crowell, slightly.

Company K: Charles B. McCausland, severely ; C. W. Hathaway, severely ; Lewis Bird, slightly ; Harrison Whittemore, slightly.

Missing.—Company F: William T. Leary. Company G: William T. Gray, Samuel Birch. Company I: Benjamin Wheeler.

Recapitulation.—Seven killed, thirty-two wounded, four missing,—total, forty-three.





CHAPTER VII.

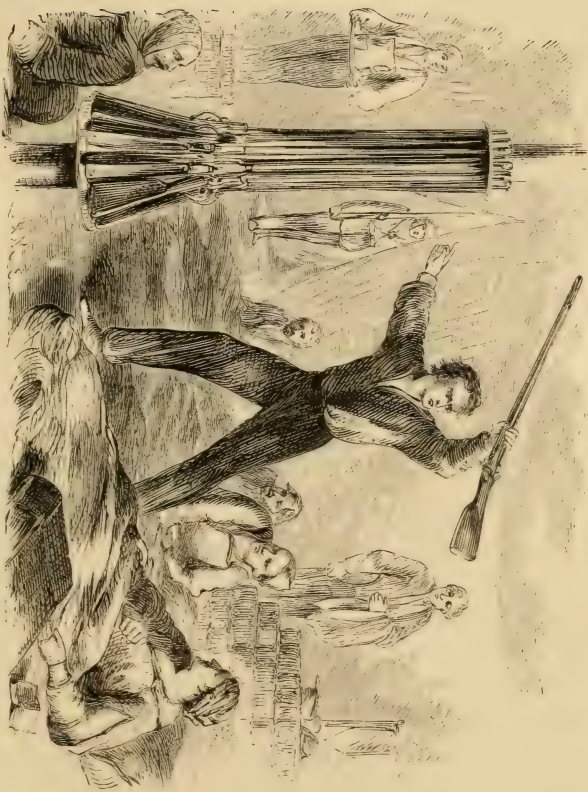
POPLAR HILL, WHITE-OAK SWAMP, AND FAIR OAKS.

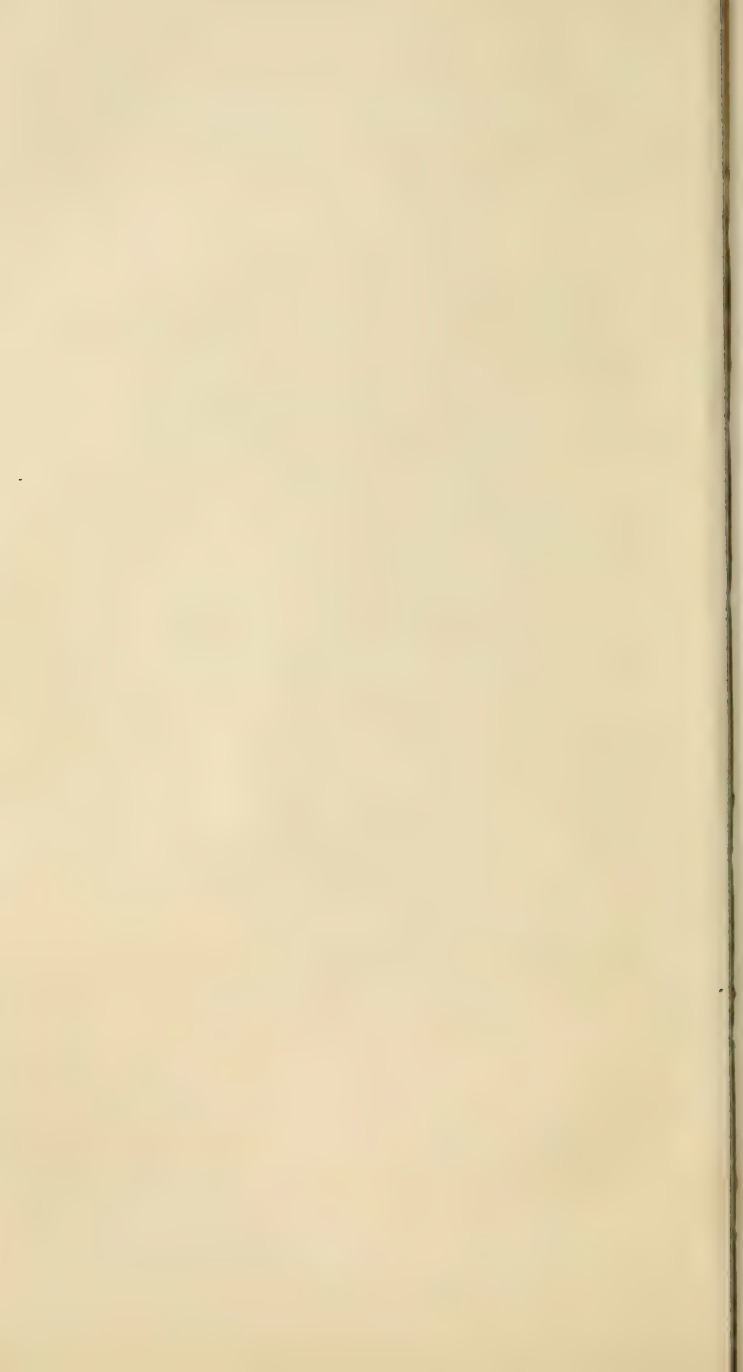
“Alp turned from the sickening sight away :
Never had shaken his nerves in fight ;
But he better could brook to behold the dying,
Deep in the tide of their warm blood lying,
Scorched with the death-thirst, and writhing in vain,
Than the perishing dead who are past all pain.
There is something of pride in the perilous hour,
Whate’er be the shape in which death may lower ;
For Fame is there to say who bleeds,
And Honor’s eye’s on daring deeds !
But, when all is past, it is humbling to tread
O’er the weltering field of the tombless dead,
And see worms of the earth, and fowls of the air,
Beasts of the forest, all gathering there, —
All regarding man as their prey :
All rejoicing in his decay.” — BYRON.

GENERAL GROVER’S brigade was detailed for provost-duty in and around Williamsburg on the 8th of May, and remained until the 15th. Lieut.-Col. George D. Wells, of the First, was appointed provost-marshal, and found plenty to do in the place, transferring prisoners and the wounded to the York River, enforcing respect for the United-States authorities from the inhabitants of the town, and bringing order and system out of the confused and chaotic condition of things which prevailed immediately after the battle.

In an old town like Williamsburg, one would expect to see many quaint and curious things. The soldiers, previous to their departure, seem to have found several.

EXCITEMENT IN THE HOSPITAL AT WHITE OAK SWAMP.





There is only space to copy the following epitaphs, from stones in the venerable grave-yard: —

This, from his departed wife to her living husband, —

“ Like as the bud nipt off the tree,
So death has parted you and me,
Therefore, dear Husband, I you beseech,
Be satisfied, for I am rich.”

This, from another husband to his departed wife, —

“ If woman ever yet did well,
If woman ever did excel,
If woman husband e'er adored,
If woman ever loved the Lord,
If ever faith, and hope, and love
In human flesh did live and move,
If all the graces e'er did meet —
In her, in her they were complete.”

This, from another husband, who was inconsolable at the loss of his wife, and died shortly after, and was buried beside her, —

“ My Anne, my all, my angel wife,
My dearest one, my love, my life, —
I cannot say or sigh farewell,
But where thou dwellest, I will dwell.”

On Thursday, the 15th of May, with rations for two days, the march was resumed; a troop of cavalry having been ordered to relieve the brigade, and do provost-duty in its place. The majority seemed reluctant to leave Williamsburg, having found their proximity to comparative civilization decidedly more agreeable than roughing it in the woods and fields, or bivouacking by the wayside.

The march from Williamsburg was of the most wearisome description, and great difficulty was experienced in keeping the men from straggling. For the first half a dozen miles, all would keep up very well; but as each man carried knapsack, haversack, overcoat, canteen, gun, and sixty rounds of cartridges, weighing, in all, nearly forty pounds, one and another would give out. It was a sorrowful sight to see them lagging, straggling, and almost falling down in the road, from sheer exhaustion; but a sight presented day after day, and for which there was no remedy.

The condition of the roads was one cause of this; for they were rough and muddy: in fact, nothing more than ditches cut through forest, field, and swamp, without drainage or gutter on either side, into which, as to a common sewer, ran all the streams and springs on either side.

In the woods, all along the road, the underbrush was burned by the rebels, and in places the way obstructed by prostrate trees. For miles on miles, the charred trunks and blackened surface of the ground showed how careful and laborious had been the preparations made for desperate fighting, as our troops advanced; but it all came to naught. We passed on without the crack of a hostile rifle to keep the troops on the alert and stragglers closer to the main body.

The country through which the column moved was remarkable alike for its beauty and fertility, and in proper hands might be made a Paradise. But nearly every thing,—houses, farms, stock, and people,—looked ragged and seedy; and a new race was evidently needed to save the land from sinking into a wilderness.

New-Kent Court House, about which at this time so much was said, was a common, six-windowed brick building, capable of seating perhaps eighty persons. Outside and in, it looked dingy, shabby, and dreary. The jail within a few feet of it had been destroyed by fire; but the registry on the other side was spared. It may be a famous place for Virginia, but in New England would never get two looks from a traveller.

Gen. McClellan having resolved to make Whitehouse, on the Pamunkey River, his base of supplies, and the York-River Railroad his method of communication, concentrated nearly the whole of his army, on the 14th, at Cumberland, about midway between West Point and Whitehouse. Resting there a couple of days, it then moved forward to its final destination, before uniting in the grand general advance upon Richmond.

Along the Pamunkey were found herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, abandoned by the rebels in their precipitate retreat behind the Chickahominy; and all these fell into our hands without firing a gun. Hours and days of valuable time were consumed in constructing roads through swampy grounds, and bridges across ravines, strong enough to hold the numerous and heavy trains passing over them; but on the 19th, with Heintzelman and Keyes on the left, Sumner in the centre, and Franklin and Porter on the right, the whole army began to move.

At Baltimore Cross-roads, — an insignificant corner containing one house and one store, each with a single room, and both empty, — the regiment halted a couple of days, and were visited by Messrs. Gaskin, Mayor of Roxbury, Worthington, of the "Boston Traveller,"

Little and Morse, of Roxbury, and Jones, of Chelsea. Some opposition was made to the passage of the Chickahominy at Bottom's Bridge, but it amounted to nothing; and after crossing it late on the night of the 23d, and for a couple of days acting as a support for Gen. Naglee's brigade, the regiment marched through a portion of White-oak Swamp to an elevated lot of ground known as Poplar Hill, and went into camp on Sunday afternoon, May 25.

The march across the Chickahominy at Bottom's Bridge was close upon the heels of the enemy; and all one day the brigade lay two miles beyond in a dense wood by the roadside, expecting momentarily the rattle of musketry, or the heavy boom of big guns.

Bottom's Bridge, which had been destroyed by the rebels, Gen. McClellan replaced by three bridges, two of them almost exactly like those which Cæsar built during his celebrated campaigns in Gaul centuries ago. The Chickahominy at this spot was a mere creek, about sixty feet wide and ten deep, and its appearance did very little credit to its name and fame.

All about was the much-talked of White-oak Swamp, deriving its name from numerous bogs and white-oak trees with which it abounds. It was by no means one vast and uninterrupted swamp, but boasted extensive table-lands, fine farms, beautiful meadows, and forests of heavy timber.

There was swamp enough, however, to make it very dangerous and disagreeable to the traveller, and quite impassable to army trains and artillery, unless over a road carefully prepared especially for them.

In this swamp, the whole of Heintzelman's corps was encamped.

The health of the troops now began to be much affected, owing to unusual labor, heat, exposure, want of proper food and rest, and the malarial atmosphere they were compelled constantly to breathe.

In the First Regiment, out of a thousand men who left Boston less than a year before, not over six hundred remained capable of military duty. Camp-life, hard marches, guard duty, exposure to rain and cold, sleeping on the ground, short rations, and disregard of the laws of health, operated to reduce our number almost one-half. But a few over fifty had been killed or wounded in battle, the rest becoming incapable of service on account of disease.

About this time, Joseph Harper, of Company A, and Daniel W. Hale, of Company C, died in the hospital.

Harper was taken sick with typhoid-fever in camp beyond Williamsburg; and, being left behind when the regiment was ordered forward, he rapidly sank, until, in a few days, he was past all human aid.

Hale was thrown from a wagon which he was driving over a very rough and muddy road, causing the dislocation of his hip, and severe internal injuries. He was several times moved before he finally reached Fortress Monroe, where at last, too weak and exhausted to rally, he soon died.

Many a harrowing scene of sickness and intense suffering did the woods and houses all along the route our army took present; where single men, men in couples, threes, or squads, had straggled from the ranks, and, utterly worn down with previous sickness, or oppressed with the symptoms of that fast approaching, had lain down with feelings half of relief, half despair, to meet and bear the worst.

So far as possible, they were sought, and located together in some deserted building, temporarily transformed into a hospital, and a surgeon detailed to attend them; but occasionally poor fellows wandered off, alone or in company, foodless, shelterless, to die far from home, friends, and help.

At Poplar Hill, the time of the men was occupied in daily reconnoissances in direction of the enemy, Richmond being only six miles distant, and the corps of Heintzelman and Keyes the only ones across the river. Occasionally a deserter was brought in, or a picket captured; and every morning, between three and four o'clock, the men stood in line prepared for an assault. On the 27th, we heard the first guns of any direct assault upon the enemy's position from Gen. Morell's division, on the extreme right, in the vicinity of Hanover Court House. The enemy were here met by a brigade under Gen. Butterfield, and completely routed, who, following up his advantage, was in turn attacked in the rear by an overwhelming force of the rebels, whom he succeeded in keeping at bay until they were flanked on the left, when they took refuge in a dense wood, and fell back towards Richmond. The railroad was entirely torn up by our forces, six hundred prisoners captured, several cannon and numerous small arms taken, with a loss of only three hundred and fifty killed and wounded; while the total rebel loss must have been over twelve hundred.

This brisk preliminary engagement led to a series of daily skirmishes between the two armies, in which the advantage would rest first on one side and then on the other. Finally, on the 31st of May, the Chickahominy having been raised several feet by a severe rain-

storm, which continued without intermission for ten hours, Gen. Johnston decided to attack the Union left. If it was a bad time for us, owing to the apparent impossibility of our recrossing the Chickahominy in case of a defeat, it was an equally bad time for him, inasmuch as the forces of Gen. Huger, upon whom he greatly depended, got mired with their wagons and artillery, and could not extricate themselves during the whole day. The rebels at this time had been largely reënforced; and if the troops under Smith and Huger had been able to reach their flanking positions on our right and left, through the swamp, no doubt they would have overwhelmed Keyes, and captured or destroyed his entire corps. But the rain, upon which they depended to render the Chickahominy impassable, had operated more in our favor than against us. One of its bridges still remained; and over this the divisions of Sedgwick and Richardson were safely conveyed to the field before the close of the fight, while Huger and his battalions were still floundering about in the mud of White-oak Swamp. After waiting from daylight till noon, the forces of Longstreet and Hill made a fierce and sudden attack upon Casey's division, just as the men were eating their dinner. A tremendous volley of musketry, followed by a bayonet-charge along the whole line, scattered the One Hundred and Third Pennsylvania, who were deployed as skirmishers, in a moment, and brought the rebels upon a line of men, half of whom, ten minutes before, had been crouching over cook-fires, or lying asleep in their shelter-tents. Of course the entire front was broken, and gave way in utter confusion. Camps, tents, stores, baggage, guns, clothing, were left; and, while the enemy were

temporarily checked by the plunder thus exposed, the line was re-formed near a redoubt in the rear, with an extensive range of rifle-pits on the wings. Casey's men forced back the rebel van upon their main body. But the main body came along with unbroken columns, receiving spherical case and canister, which opened long furrows in their lines, and volleys of musketry before which whole companies withered and sank, without shrinking from them, but closed up so rapidly, and pressed on so vigorously, that Casey was compelled to fall back, after three hours' hard fighting, upon the division of Gen. Couch; and Couch, in turn, upon the divisions of Gens. Kearney and Hooker, which, with the exception of Gen. Grover's brigade, left behind to hold Poplar Hill at all hazards, were hastily sent for about noon.

Heintzelman found himself confronted by Smith's rebel corps, which, commanded by Johnston in person, had just arrived on the field. Though greatly outnumbered, he gave them battle at once, falling gradually back to secure a better position; when Sedgwick's and Richardson's divisions of Gen. Sumner's corps began to arrive, and a new alignment was made. Just at this time, Gen. Johnston was mortally wounded by a shell, which threw the rebels into great confusion, and completely demoralized their left. Determined to pursue their advantage, however, they charged thrice, with desperate energy, up to the very muzzles of the few cannon which could be got into position, but as often recoiled and broke under the murderous rounds of canister which they received. Gen. McClellan now ordered his troops to assume the offensive, and along the entire line the rebels were slowly

forced back, leaving their dead and wounded in our hands. The fight continued at intervals till long after dark, and the Union troops finally bivouacked upon the ground the enemy had held nearly all the afternoon.

At daybreak the next morning, Sunday, June 1, the three Union corps were ordered forward simultaneously. Their course lay through woods, thickets, fields, and morasses. They encountered the enemy at the start, receiving a severe and well-directed fire, which was returned with a will; and our men, loading as they advanced, pushed rapidly forward. In places, the ground was so broken, or the water so deep, that it was utterly impossible to keep soldiers in a line, and, to an ordinary observer, they might have seemed disorganized; but it was not so. Waist deep in the treacherous bog, or separated half a dozen paces by the dense undergrowth, they kept pushing along. It was here that Gen. Howard displayed such signal gallantry. Two horses had been shot under him, and twice he had received rifle-balls in his right arm; but, binding up the shattered limb with a handkerchief, he utterly refused to leave his men; and, following his splendid example, they pressed on amid a din of musketry and cannon perfectly deafening, and bore down every thing before them.

The Irish brigade also, under Meagher, made one of their famous bayonet-charges, before which, unless broken by artillery, a line of battle could no more stand than it could stand before an avalanche. Ditches, brooks, fences, bushes, bullets, wounds, death, these men, after they had got started and their blood was up, minded no more than a tap with a shillalah.

Other men charged bravely, sternly, impetuously ; but the Irish rushed on rejoicingly. They really made the awful work of war seem, in part, mirthful and ludicrous.

The New-Jersey brigade, in the swamp to the left of the Williamsburg Road, encountered some of Huger's troops who failed to appear on the day preceding. The enemy here made a bold stand, and appeared fresh and active ; but the regular and rapid volleys which were poured in upon them from the Jersey rifles, and for which this brigade was so famous, made the place too hot for endurance, and they sullenly retired with the rest.

The Excelsior brigade, under command of Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, was in line with the New Jerseys. Dissatisfied with the retirement of the preceding day, and burning to avenge the slaughter of their comrades at Williamsburg, the men were chafed and uneasy under the gradual and steady advances at first being made. They longed to come to close quarters. The order to fix bayonets was received, therefore, with an eagerness ominous of disaster to the rebels ; and the charge that followed commenced with a cheer that rang over the fields far above the roar of conflict. Here and there a squad of the rebels, under good cover, endeavored to stem the rapid advance ; but the main body took counsel from their fears, and scattered through the forest in the utmost disorder. In every direction, now, the day was ours. On both sides of the railroad, from the centre to the extremities of both wings, the enemy were routed and in rapid retreat. Down the Williamsburg Turnpike, across the fields, through the plundered camps of Casey and Couch,

they ran, without regard to organization, leaving us over a thousand prisoners, with a better position than we held before, and Gen. Sumner's corps transferred to and intrenched on the south side of the Chickahominy.

The entire Union loss was between five and six thousand killed, wounded, and missing, with several thousand muskets, nearly a dozen pieces of artillery, and a considerable amount of supplies. The rebel loss in men was equally large, but nothing in material. The battle-field presented an awful and sickening spectacle to the beholder. At least two thousand men lay dead where they fell; and four times that number of wounded were being gathered up on stretchers as fast as possible, and borne away. Five hundred slaughtered horses lay singly and in heaps where they were shot. Trees shot through and shot off, muskets, broken wagons, abandoned caissons, cartridge-boxes, blankets, overcoats, haversacks, canteens, knapsacks, and in the plundered camps, letters, paper, envelopes, clothing, commissaries' supplies, and quartermasters' stores, were strewn about in the utmost profusion. Fences had been prostrated, and fields laid waste; houses emptied, torn down, or set on fire; roads cut up; and the whole country made one vast aceldama, or field of blood.

The battle was known variously as that of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines. It was called "Fair Oaks" from a place on the York-River Railroad, near where it commenced, distinguished for the size and beauty of its white-oak trees; and "Seven Pines" from another place on the Richmond and Williamsburg Turnpike, where it raged the hottest, equally famous once for seven gigantic pines.

It was now resolved to transfer Casey's division to Poplar Hill, and the whole of Hooker's division to White-oak Swamp.

If this movement had been followed, early in June, by a combined assault upon the Richmond defences, it is generally believed that the city would have been evacuated, and many valuable lives saved to us which the swamp-fever destroyed. But it was not so to be.

On Wednesday, June 4th, the regiment removed to a position on the Williamsburg Road, nearly in the centre of White-oak Swamp.

This famous region was formed mainly by the Chickahominy and its branches, and covered an area immediately south of the York-River Railroad, ten miles in length, and five, at least, in breadth.

The Chickahominy has eight or ten tributaries, among which are the Horse-pen Branch, Rocky Branch, North Run, and Brook Run, rising within ten miles north-west of Richmond, in a rough, barren country, entirely unfit for cultivation. In the vicinity of White-oak Swamp, it is a narrow, turbid stream, abounding in quicksands, and moving with opaque, sluggish current to its junction with the James. The swamp itself extends nearly to James River, and is traversed by but very few roads. The region abounds with vegetation; but during the warm weather it is scarcely inhabitable, owing to miasmatic diseases.

When the army was encamped there, the entire region was inundated by the severe and unusual rains. The Chickahominy, in portions, had ceased to be a river, and seemed like a vast lake. The roads, in every direction, were little better than ditches, and

were quite unserviceable until they were all corduroyed. The ground had been excavated in many parts to form redoubts, or make lines of rifle-pits. The plains, during and after a rain, were one compact surface of glutinous mire. In dry weather, they were baked hard by the intense heat of the sun, showing only here and there stagnant puddles, covered with a green slime.

Thousands of dead bodies of animals and men, some under ground, but more above, covered with from three to six inches of earth only, filled the air with an insufferable stench, which, with the exhalations rising from putrid water and decaying vegetable matter, soon began to tell on the health of the men. They were also compelled to drink water in frequent instances flowing from brooks and streams where wounded men had fallen and died, or where the dead had been buried without proper consideration; and this but added to the prevalent depression of strength and spirits. It seems hardly credible, but hundreds could attest, that the first night Gen. Grover's brigade went out on picket, knowing nothing about the condition of the ground, the reserves slept upon their arms wherever they could find a spot, and in the morning discovered that their nearest companions had been the bloated and maggoty bodies of dead soldiers, lying yet uncovered where they had been shot down; and that the disgusting vermin from their putrefying carcasses had found its way under their own blankets, or clothing, and even among their rations. Many and many a relief-squad stumbled over what they supposed to be the sleeping form of some soldier utterly worn out, and too exhausted to move, whom morning revealed

locked in the arms of a sleep that knows no earthly waking. During the hurry of battle, no attention can be paid to the killed, and little to the wounded, except by members of the ambulance-corps, or soldiers specially ordered to convey them to the rear. Artillery is frequently driven, and cavalry obliged to charge, over the dead, therefore ; and, in one instance, the writer saw a corduroy road constructed over a grave, from which the heavy teams caused a half fleshless arm with clinched fingers to protrude between the logs, as if in solemn menace at the drivers for their sacrilege. In and around the White-oak Swamp camping-ground of the First lay bodies by the dozen. Black, festering, and alive with worms, it was impossible to move or touch them ; and they could only be covered where they lay. During one forenoon, twenty-nine of these were thus disposed of, in the midst of an odor so rank and nauseous, that members of the working party were obliged to go away and vomit in spite of every effort to prevent it. Day and night the atmosphere was charged with a feter stronger than any bilge-water that was ever taken from a vessel's hold ; and at times it became so powerful and penetrating, that nothing but inflexible military discipline kept the men where they were obliged to endure it.

The wounds of hundreds, too much injured to help themselves, and upon whom proper care had not been or could not be bestowed immediately after the battle, became fly-blown, and infested with maggots, and presented the revolting spectacle of men still breathing, and, if attended to, likely to recover, being devoured alive by worms ! Added to this was a daily routine of duty hard enough to break down the firmest constitutions.

From the 1st to the 12th of June extensive siege-works were in progress, designed to accommodate the heaviest breaching-guns, and therefore made very strong. Upon these, large fatigue-parties were constantly employed. The pickets were engaged in almost uninterrupted skirmishing, which led to frequent day and night alarms, when the whole line would be called out at the sound of the bugle, armed and ready for battle. Regularly before daylight, the men were obliged to leave their tents, and form under arms to prevent a surprise, and every third day leave camp, and take their turn on picket. Knowing the exact position of our forces, the enemy had a practice of shelling them daily during the forenoon or afternoon; and all who remained about the tents got as accustomed to the whirl of solid shot, the scream of shells, and the sonorous plunge of cannister among the branches and leaves, as to the plaintive and bewitching cries of quail in the early morning, or the saddening notes of the whippoorwill during the long and silent nights. Every morning and night, to neutralize malaria, and keep the men strong and cheerful amid their exposures and hardships, a ration of whiskey was served out in all the camps. Few were sturdy enough in their adhesion to temperance principles to refuse it; some endured it as a medicine; but the majority received it as a matter of course, just as they would a ration of coffee. There was some doubt as to its propriety, and whether, on the whole, it had a salutary physical effect. Its moral influence was undeniably disastrous; and, if its sanitary administration be one of the indispensable concomitants of war, that alone furnishes a strong reason why war should in future be avoided.

Picket-life in White-oak Swamp was diversified, and full of incident. Some regiments when engaged in this duty were as quiet as when in camp. Others would begin to fire the moment their men were posted, and keep it up for twenty-four hours, until they were relieved. As a general thing, the rebels were inclined to remain quiet if our men did ; but they would not endure being fired upon without retaliation. Reconnoissances in force were frequent on both sides, which for a short time had all the appearance of a brisk engagement, but generally ended by the withdrawal of both parties to their original position.

Feints were not uncommon among the enemy, when they would approach our lines with colors flying, on the quick step, deliver a volley or so, and then turn off sharply to the right or left, repeating the same experiment there. Constant watchfulness along the whole line prevented them from ever reaping any advantage from these attempts, even had they expected to.

The pickets were so near together, that now and then, at night, they got intermixed. Two rebel officers were captured on one occasion, owing in part to such a mistake. They were out posting their own pickets, and, desirous of a stroll, ventured a little beyond the line guarded by our men. Two of them laid down in the bushes until the backs of the officers were turned, and then, instead of firing, started up, halted their captives, and marched them inside the picket reserves. As soon as their absence was discovered, a furious fire was opened from the rebel side ; but it was returned with such vigor and precision, that it soon ceased, and this bitter dose of Yankee shrewdness and ingenuity was swallowed as quietly as possible.

Among the "sensations" on the picket line was the arrival there one day of a newsboy from Richmond, with copies for sale of the papers published that very morning in the rebel capital. His papers were easily enough disposed of; but, as it was supposed that he might be a scout or spy, he was not allowed to make any observations among the camps, and before night was sent back whence he had come. Along certain portions of the line, the rebel pickets no doubt received instructions to be civil to our men; for on certain days they were unusually social and communicative, offering to trade tobacco for coffee, whiskey, and Northern papers, and generally representing that they were on short rations, and in various ways ill-treated.

About the middle of June, several promotions and other changes were made in the regiment. First Lieut. William L. Candler was made one of Gen. Hooker's aides. Second Lieuts. Charles L. Chandler, of Company A, and Francis W. Carruth, of Company K, were made first lieutenants. Lieut. Forrester A. Pelby was detached from the regiment, and, with Lieut. Chandler, appointed to special duty in the engineer corps. Amos D. Webster, Company D, was commissioned second lieutenant. Sergeant-major Frank Thomas, and Quartermaster's Sergeant Joseph H. Dalton, were commissioned second lieutenants. Lieut.-Col. Wells was placed temporarily in command of the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, whose colonel had been wounded and disabled at the battle of Williamsburg.

The York-River Railroad, at this time in our possession, was our only reliable base of supplies. It was in use day and night, and worth at least twenty thou-

sand men to our army. It should have been fortified and guarded along its entire extent; but it was not.

The rebels knew this as well as we. It was determined in Richmond, therefore, to make a demonstration against this road; and, for this purpose, early on the morning of June 8, Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, with two colonels, Fitz Hugh Lee, Lieut. Gardner, the Jeff-Davis Troop, a six-pounder and a twelve-pounder, flying artillery, and fifteen hundred men, left the rebel capital, and, proceeding down the Charlottesville Turnpike, so as to make a wide detour and throw Union scouts off the scent, encamped that night at Ashland. The next morning they proceeded silently and cautiously towards the Federal outposts north of Hanover Court House, and by a sudden assault quickly routed the small cavalry force on duty there as vedettes. Taking such of the men prisoners as had not escaped, they burned their camp and rode rapidly along, overhauling, plundering, and destroying several wagons on their route, breaking up depots of commissary and quartermasters' supplies, and doing the Union cause all the mischief in their power without giving a general alarm. At Old Church they encountered a squadron of the Fifth cavalry, but put them to flight after a brief skirmish, and went on to Garrick's Landing, about five miles above Whitehouse, on the Pamunkey, where they burned vessels and wagons, killed teamsters, captured prisoners, drove off mules, and spread consternation throughout the vicinity. Proceeding thence to Tunstall's Station on the York-River Railroad, they dismounted, and formed on either side the track to capture an approaching train. The engineer, thinking the force friendly, shut off steam to

consult with them ; but, receiving a volley which killed and wounded several soldiers riding on platform-cars to the front, gave his locomotive a full head, and dashed on to the Chickahominy, brushing several logs off the track and making good his escape. One colonel, belonging to the Excelsior brigade, was taken prisoner, but shortly after got away. A paymaster on board, with one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars in his trunk, jumped off the train and hid in the woods, — coming up the next day to find his money all safe. Several men aimed at, within a dozen rods of the rebel carbineers, by a sudden duck of the head and body, dodged the shots intended for them, and remained unharmed.

The telegraph wires were immediately severed ; a detachment sent towards Whitehouse for the destruction of transports, wagons, and stores, which inflicted but little damage, and the main body departed for New-Kent Court House. Halting here till midnight, they proceeded thence, by a road but little frequented, towards the Chickahominy, and endeavored to cross. The water was at least fifteen feet deep. The principal roads and all the bridges were in possession of the Union forces, who were now aroused, and on the alert. One after another, horses and horsemen plunged into the stream and swam to the other side. Some of them were too weak to reach it, however, and were swept down by the current. What was to be done ? As they stood a moment in uncertainty, some person concealed exclaimed, “ The old bridge is only a few yards above : it can be mended.” It was eagerly sought for, and speedily found. The information was true. A few hours’ hard work saw the repairs

completed, and the perplexed cavalcade again in motion. On the other side, their gun-carriages sank in the mire up to the axles, and their wagons obstinately refused to be dragged along; but, by doubling and trebling the horses and mules upon them, this difficulty was at length overcome and a new start obtained. It was now daylight, on the 15th; and, as they were within the Federal picket-lines, they soon ran into the cavalry outposts. A few shots, a quick charge, they were scattered or captured, and the coast was clear to Richmond. Thirteen miles only below Gen. McClellan's headquarters they crossed the Chickahominy, and eight days after they left Richmond on the north side they entered it on the south, having completely encircled the Union army, and demonstrated the feasibility of its entire isolation from railway, river, and road. A few prisoners, three hundred horses and mules, and some property were taken, and, in all, perhaps a hundred thousand dollars' worth of supplies destroyed. But the army, and, indeed, the whole country were startled at the boldness of the expedition, and the ease with which it was executed. Our generals became aware that they were in an untenable position, whose communications might any day be cut and their forces deprived of supplies and subsistence. Immediate exertions were made to render the works along the whole line as strong as possible. Double, and, in some places, triple rows of redoubts were thrown up; the railroad was guarded with an increased force; connection between the two wings established, by means of new and substantial bridges and corduroy roads; and through forest and swamp new roads were cut capable of bearing ammunition-wagons and artillery. Reënforce-

ments were called for to make up for losses caused by battle and the Chickahominy fever, and wherever troops could be spared without uncovering important places they were sent forward at once. From Hampton, Fredericksburg, Newport News, and Fortress Monroe, regiments arrived ; one of which, the Sixteenth Massachusetts, under Col. Powell T. Wyman, joined Gen. Grover's brigade.

Wednesday forenoon, the 18th of June, the rebels made two feints, in force, in front and to the left of our position. It seemed to be the universal impression that they were coming at last for the grand final struggle so long anticipated ; but, just as they approached within rifle-shot distance, they counter-marched, and turned off in another direction. To ascertain, if possible, what movements they might be making, the Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment was ordered to go out on a reconnoissance in the afternoon, with the rest of Gen. Grover's brigade as a support.

The members of this regiment were full of alacrity at the prospect of a brush, for they had never been under fire, and did not entertain that wholesome respect for rifle-balls and cannon-shot in motion which experience invariably gives to the bravest and most reliable veterans. After the march began, it was difficult for the officers to restrain their men, so eager were they to dash on, and unearth the skulking rebels from their forest hiding-places. In course of half an hour, they were pretty hotly engaged with a body of men at least as numerous as their own, and some thought much superior. The rebels lay behind logs and bushes, or were hidden by trees and stumps, whence they poured

in a rapid fire upon our men, in plain sight, advancing upon them. The contest was kept up somewhat over an hour, when, by order of Gen. Hooker, the word was passed round to withdraw, which was done with evident reluctance and without the least confusion.

Never did men behave better under fire than the soldiers of the brave Sixteenth. They were not only full of enthusiasm for the fray, but went into it with a dash, and carried it on with a pluck, which would have done honor to veteran troops. The only pity was that the men, scorning to imitate the hide-if-you-can practice of the rebels, and thus fight them with their own weapons, exposed themselves without compelling the enemy to do likewise, and in consequence suffered severely. Two officers and five men were killed, and fifty-seven men were wounded.

Directly in front of Gen. Hooker's position was a swamp where our pickets were obliged to remain on guard, and which it was desirable to leave for higher ground beyond. It was surmised that this movement might be succeeded by a forcible resistance on the part of the enemy, likely to renew the battle of Fair Oaks, and enable us, under cover of our redoubts and rifle-pits, and by means of rapid communication between the wings, to gain some decided advantage over them; and it was known, if the enemy were not drawn into a general engagement, that we should get a better picket-post, and thus take one step forward on the road to Richmond.

At midnight, on the 24th, orders came to the division to be ready at seven o'clock on the 25th, with three days' cooked rations in their haversacks, for an advance towards Richmond.

At daylight, every man was up ; at half-past six, the line was formed ; and at seven, precisely, the companies were filing over the field and into the woods, where the rebels were supposed to have located their picket reserves.

This supposition became a certainty soon after eight o'clock, as our skirmishers came upon the outposts of the enemy, and began that irregular firing which usually precedes a sharp engagement. Very soon the main body of the regiment came up, and the conflict waxed hot.

The Massachusetts First at this time had the advance, supported by the Pennsylvania Twenty-sixth and New Hampshire Second, the Massachusetts Eleventh and Sixteenth being in reserve. They were obliged to advance through an almost impenetrable swamp, with water above their knees, and bushes so thick that not a man could be seen thirty feet distant. All they had to aim at, when the rebels opened fire, was the report and smoke of their guns.

They were entirely without cover, also, and knew nothing of their location and surroundings, except what they were learning, second by second and inch after inch, while the rebels were perfectly familiar with the ground, and had only to aim low, as they lay snugly protected in their rifle-pits, to be almost sure of hitting somebody.

Not a man flinched, however ; not a face turned back ; but, firing and advancing, the whole line went forward, until the panic-stricken rebels were driven out of their own pits, and began a rapid retreat across an oat-field just in front.

Enraged at their discomfiture, and being largely re-

enforced, they came back again, and the First, not having been immediately supported, fell back a short distance, when a fresh onset was made, the rebels driven out quicker than ever, and the First Regiment continued to hold their rifle-pits, right in the face of a galling fire from tree-top, thicket, wood, and field, for the remainder of the day.

The attack upon this pit, where the enemy had every advantage of cover, rest, and knowledge of the ground, was one of the most daring exploits of the day; driving the enemy out of it twice in succession, and holding it for nearly ten hours against every effort made for its repossession; holding it with an obstinate determination that nothing could weaken, and an entire indifference to shot, shell, and musketry volleys that nothing could remove, showed the unconquerable pluck and persevering intrepidity which the men possessed.

Col. Cowdin exposed himself in utter disregard of personal hazard; waving his sword and cheering on his command all along the line; mounting stumps and logs, to see where the enemy were, notwithstanding that repeated rifle-shots, whizzing by his ears, told how prominent an object his tall form made him for the rebel sharpshooters.

Right well did his officers and men, field, staff, line, non-commissioned, and rank and file, second his efforts and respond to his commands. Never were they cooler, steadier, or more enthusiastic. As they advanced, their comrades were falling thick and fast around them, till of five hundred men nearly one hundred had been killed or wounded, and in three companies not a single commissioned officer was left; but

onward they went, with tread as firm and spirit as undaunted as ever.

After the rebel rifle-pits had been taken, fighting began along the whole line. On the right, it was principally with artillery at long range; but at the centre and on the left, it was, till about two or three o'clock, P.M., mostly with muskets and rifles.

Repeated attempts were made to flank our position, during one of which the Massachusetts Sixteenth and Eleventh, and the Pennsylvania Twenty-sixth, were exposed to one of the hottest fires of the day; but the coming of Gen. Berry's brigade, and repeated discharges of well-served howitzers, kept the enemy at bay, and by sundown they were content to skulk along the edge of the woods, over into which our grape and canister had driven them, or from some far-distant tree endeavor to pick off mounted officers as they rode here and there in the discharge of their duties.

The fighting began at eight o'clock, A.M., and was kept up, in one or another quarter, all day. Sometimes the roll of musketry and the thunder of artillery were incessant.

After nine o'clock at night, an onset was made upon our lines; but a sheet of fire burst from trench, pit, tree, and earthwork, such as flesh and blood could not stand, and the Union forces were left masters of the ground they had so fairly won. Dear was the cost, however, so far as the First Regiment was concerned.

Gen. McClellan was on the field, close by our division, a great part of the day, and personally directed one of the later movements.

Gens. Heintzelman, Hooker, and Grover, were also on hand, cool, fearless, and resolute, contributing no

little, by their quiet self-possession, to the success of the day.

Such of our wounded as could bear removal were at once sent down to White House, and put on board hospital steamers for transportation to Fortress Monroe.

On Thursday, the 26th, our dead were all buried in our own camp, — mostly in strong pine boxes, so marked as to be easily distinguished, — and addresses, full of feeling, were made by Col. Cowdin, Capt. Baldwin, and Chaplain Fuller, of the Sixteenth. Tears flowed down many a bronzed cheek, and many an eye that the day before flashed with the light of battle became dim with uncontrollable emotion.

The entire Union loss, on account of this affair, was six hundred killed, wounded, and missing: that of the rebels has never been reported.

Following the action of the 25th, early on the next day, an assault was made on the Union right. Anticipating trouble, Whitehouse had been abandoned as a depot of supplies by Gen. McClellan, and its immense accumulations of stores removed or destroyed. This was unknown to the rebels. Hoping to reach them, Gens. Longstreet and A. P. Hill fell suddenly upon McCall's position, surprising the Pennsylvania "Buck-tails" while on picket, and capturing several companies of the reserve. Following up their advantage, they furiously assaulted McCall's line of battle, hoping to pierce the Union centre and divide the right wing from the left. After a severe and protracted engagement, Gen. Morell's division came up, and the rebels were driven back at every point. During the night, Gen. Porter sent all his wagons to the rear, thus be-

ginning the movement which resulted in the occupation of Harrison's Landing, and fell back in line of battle to a position between Cold Harbor and the Chickahominy, about three miles in length, near Gain's Mill. By daylight, the next morning, the enemy were in sight. The columns of Anderson, Pickett, and D. H. Hill, commenced the attack. They were exposed to the fire of twenty thousand men, and at least sixty pieces of artillery, advantageously posted. The effect was terrible; and the enemy, though they came on with hurrahs and cheers, began to waver and retire. In vain their officers swung their caps and swords; in vain their artillery poured in round after round; in vain were shouted commands, entreaties, and even threats. The fire was so appalling that whole ranks went down under it, as though struck with lightning. The men would not stand, simply because they could not stand. Re-enforcements came up, bringing additional batteries. The fire of one hundred and fifty guns poured a perfect hurricane of deadly missiles from side to side, enveloping the furious combatants in clouds of smoke, and making the ground beneath them fairly tremble with the din. Great chasms were opened in the advancing lines, by canister and spherical case; some regiments were so shattered that hardly officers enough remained to command the men. The Nineteenth North Carolina lost eight standard-bearers in rapid succession. Had it not been for reserves the result would have been a great Union victory; but these troops, coming up fresh and strong against men who had fired their last cartridge, and were ready to drop with hunger and exhaustion, forced them back; and, charging over their broken ranks, speedily demoralized the

whole line. At least fifty thousand of the enemy here fought thirty thousand Unionists during an entire day, and did not prevent the accomplishment of what was undertaken in the morning. Five thousand wagons, a monstrous siege train of heavy artillery, twenty-five hundred oxen, and all the regimental property were started towards the James River, across White Oak Swamp. Concealed in the woods, all this was done without the knowledge of the enemy; and when, after a forced march on the 28th, they came to Whitehouse, expecting to find an immense amount of supplies, nothing greeted their eyes but an abandoned encampment and smoking ruins. This opened their eyes; they saw then what Gen. McClellan was about; but they saw it too late. It was utterly impossible for any messenger to proceed from Whitehouse to Richmond, and for Gen. Lee to re-organize his plans of assault soon enough to arrest the tide, then at its full, flowing across White-oak Swamp towards James River.

Throughout the day the conviction was positive and universal among the rebels, shared alike by officers and men, that the capture or destruction of the Federal army, with all its accumulated material, was a settled and established fact; and the famous Southern Confederacy, of which they had only dreamed heretofore, a fixed and indestructible reality. The imagined position of Gen. McClellan would not admit of any other conclusion. He had abandoned all his redoubts and entrenchments north of the Chickahomony; he had been cut off from all communication with his base of supplies at Whitehouse; he could not control any available line of retreat; the Chickahomony, crossed only by a few frail bridges, easily destroyed, was in his

rear; the columns of Longstreet, Huger, and Magruder in his front. So throughout the hostile camps was most extravagant rejoicing. The Union at last was broken, past all mending. The superiority of the South — not only in peace, but also in war — forevermore established; and a great slave-holding, labor-hating, ease-loving nation about to enter upon a career of glory and prosperity beyond all precedent in the annals of time! Behold the folly of human expectations. While details were burying the dead, or attending to the wounded; while the men were resting, after the fatigue and excitement of battle, or congratulating each other upon the probable termination of hostilities within a few weeks or months, and now night had settled upon the scene, couriers were despatched from Richmond to get every thing in readiness for an assault, the next day, upon the Union rear.

In Gen. Heintzelman's corps, at the same time, an order was received from Gen. McClellan, congratulating the troops upon the brilliant results of the recent fighting, but requesting officers to consign to the flames all their personal effects that were not indispensable, and commanding that an immense amount of public property be disposed of in the same manner. The hope was held out that all private individual losses might be made good by the Government; but that hope has thus far failed of realization.

The following is an official list of killed and wounded at the Battle of Fair Oaks, on June 25.

Company A. — Private Lewis G. Getchell, killed; Captain Edward A. Wild, shot in the hand; Sergeant Frederic E. Dolbeare, shot in the arm; Charles D.

Griggs, shot in the legs ; James A. Munroe, shot in the leg ; Emerson W. Law, shot through the arm ; Horace E. Whitfield, shot in the finger ; George W. T. Conant, shot in the side and shoulder ; Charles A. Dwyer, shot in the left hand ; John C. Ready, shot in the shoulder, died of his wounds ; Andrew J. Washburn, contusion.

Company B. — Second Lieutenant Henry Parkinson, jr., shot through the right thigh ; Second Lieutenant Joseph H. Dalton, shot in the right breast ; Sergeant James Armstrong, shot in both arms ; Corporal William H. Fletcher, shot in the right arm ; John A. Beyer, shot in the left hand ; George W. Lovejoy, shot in the left hand ; George C. Cook, shot in the right arm ; Thomas E. Collins, shot in the left leg ; Richard Downing, shot in the left arm and right knee ; Daniel Goodwin, shot in the left arm ; James Quinn, shot in the abdomen ; John B. McKay, shot in the head.

Company C. — Benjamin Goodspeed, shot through the arm ; Elbridge Fisher, shot in the hand ; James G. Harrington, shot in the neck ; Thomas Meagher, shot in the arm.

Company D. — Hector Ingraham, killed ; William C. Manning, contusion left arm ; Parker Goodwin, shot in the foot ; William H. H. Whall, shot in the hand and breast.

Company E. — Corporal Horace O. Blake, killed ; William B. Gaskins, killed ; George O. Baxter, killed ; Corporal William Kelren, shot in the shoulder ; George E. Dillaway, shot in the neck ; John Taylor, shot in the head.

Company F. — William H. Appleton, shot in the arm and side ; John D. Thwing, shot in the ankle.

Company G. — Henry G. Whitten, killed ; Corporal George B. Roberts, lost a finger ; Michael Carlin, shot in the leg.

Company H. — Captain Sumner Carruth, shot in the arm.

Company I. — Second Lieutenant Frank Thomas, lost an arm ; Sergeant James Finney, shot in the thigh ; Corporal Charles E. Ferguson, shot in the head ; Gardner Kimball, shot in the hand ; Isaac Clark, shot in the arm ; Warren H. Gardner, severe wound in the face ; Nicholas S. Hall, shot in the side ; William Murray, shot in the hand ; Wentworth Wilson, shot in the leg ; William W. Bradly, slightly wounded.

Company K. — Corporal George L. Richardson, killed ; Private Thomas L. Moran, killed ; Private George H. Stillings, killed ; Captain A. G. Chamberlain, shot in the mouth ; Sergeant John H. Holden, shot in the left arm ; Frank Bouvard, shot in the right arm ; William Long, shot in the left breast ; John J. Powers, shot in the right thigh ; Frank Partridge, shot in the hand ; James Finerty, shot in the left arm ; Thomas K. Jones, shot in the left breast.

Recapitulation : Nine killed, fifty-five wounded.





CHAPTER VIII.

SAVAGE'S STATION, GLENDALE, AND MALVERN HILL, FIRST AND SECOND.

"Freemen up! The foe is nearing!
Haughty banners high unrearing;
Lo, their serried ranks appearing!

Freemen on! The drums are beating!
Will you shrink from such a meeting?
Forward! Give the hero greeting!

From your hearths and homes and altars,
Backward hurl your proud assaulters;
He is not a man who falters.

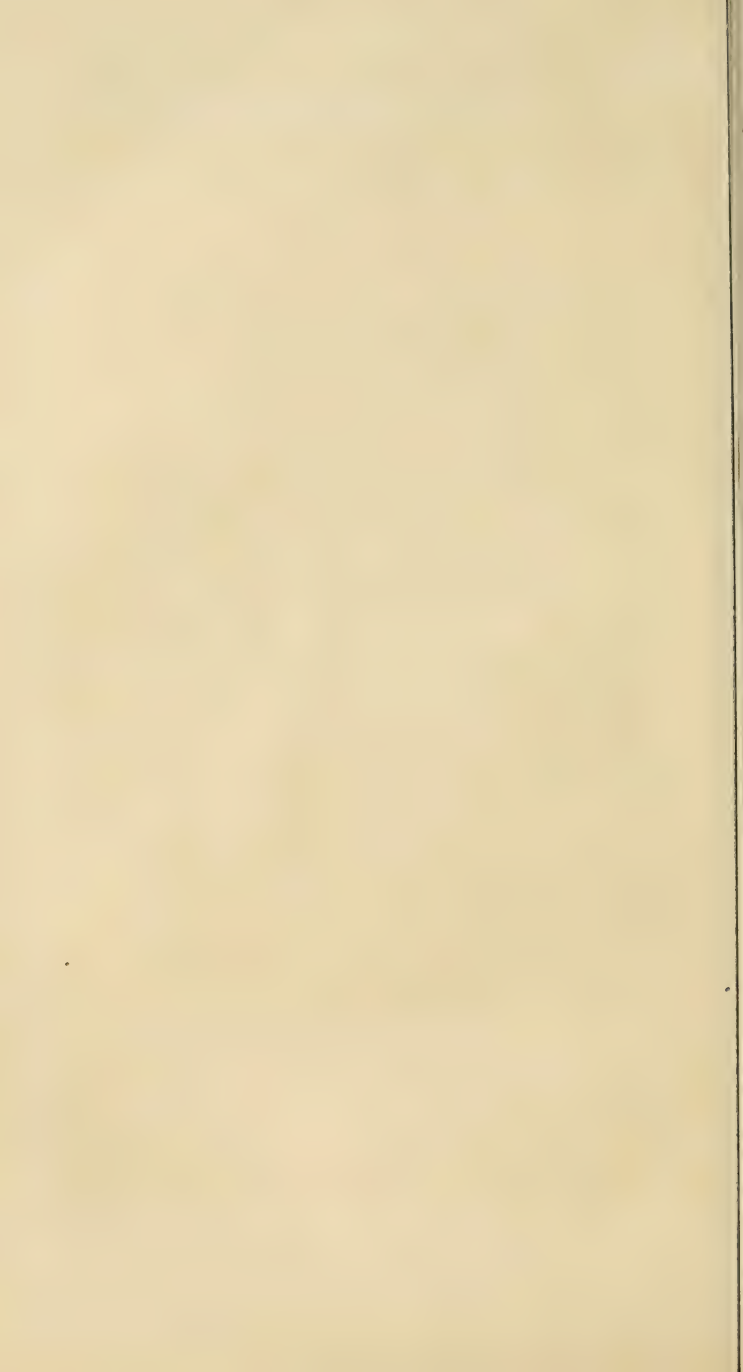
Hush! The hour of fate is nigh!
On the help of God rely!

Forward! We will do or die!" — G. HAMILTON.

THE morning of Sunday, June 29, was spent by Gen. Hooker's division in "cheerfully submitting" to the various trivial sacrifices of personal property they were called upon to make, comprising trunks, apparel, mess-chests, mattresses, camp-stools, tent-furniture, &c.; and in smashing up generally whatever might be serviceable to the enemy. Cooking-utensils were broken or perforated; tents cut in tatters from end to end; tables, chests, chairs, desks, and bedsteads, split open or broken to pieces. It was a carnival of destruction. The regiment was then marched out to the front, with orders to hold a redoubt at the right of the Williamsburg Road, until the division fell back. The morning was damp, and



DESTRUCTION OF THE RAILROAD TRAIN.



just then, as by a special dispensation of Providence, a thick fog came up which entirely hid our operations from the enemy. Their pickets were within less than a thousand paces, but not a movement could they see ; and we were left entirely unmolested until every redoubt had been abandoned, all the guns drawn off, and the roads by which pursuit must be made blocked up with heavy trees felled across them by the pioneers. The camps, woods, and fields were covered with the *débris* of military supplies. Thousands of our best muskets lay around with their stocks shattered, barrels bent, or locks jammed in ; tons on tons of ammunition, piled up and set on fire, or spilled into running water ; barrels of beef and pork, of coffee, sugar, beans, and rice, poured out and trampled over ; boxes of clothing and equipments which had never been worn, blankets, overcoats, tents, accoutrements, thrown aside in heaps ; molasses, vinegar, tea, flour, whiskey, cartridges, vegetables, mixed up in gutters by the roadside ; standing tents and artificial bowers by the dozen burning and crackling in every direction ; immense accumulations of hard-bread, rising by the thousand boxes to the height of thirty or forty feet, and fifty or eighty feet square at the base, blazing fiercely ; books, papers, accounts, blanks, and sutler's goods, to be had for the taking : — such was the spectacle attending the commencement of that grand strategic movement towards James River, from the right and centre of the Army of the Potomac, which excited such universal interest, and provoked so much controversy at the time of its occurrence.

At noon, while the brigade occupied an admirable position close by one of the York-River railroad

stations, called Savage's Station, the enemy came in sight. A considerable number of sick soldiers, with a few wounded, and here and there one that was the worse for liquor, had been left behind in the abandoned camps, all of whom fell into rebel hands and were sent back to Richmond.

The roads were obstructed by fallen trees, corduroys torn up, and bridges destroyed, so that the hostile advance was necessarily slow. At Savage's Station had been the headquarters of Gen. McClellan, the Sanitary Commission, and the principal departments; and here was the largest hospital in the army, crowded with inmates, many wounded, but more sick with Chickahominy fever, some dying, and some dead. Prostrate in tents or sheds, they soon heard that the troops were falling back, and were filled with uncontrollable eagerness to avoid being captured, or exposed to all the dangers of a battle without the ability to participate in its duties. Pale, trembling, tottering, they rose by the dozen from their sick beds, and besought wagoners or ambulance drivers to take them aboard, or followed feebly the direction of the retreating columns towards White-oak Bridge. Meantime the rebels had drawn up a battery on the Union right, which opened the fight by a few well-directed rounds, but was quickly silenced and compelled to retire. Skirmishers then appeared in front, and soon a line of battle emerged from the woods at point-blank range. Every inch of the ground was commanded by our guns, which poured such a destructive fire into their ranks that they fell back without waiting for a second volley. They then tried the flanks, but, finding that every precaution had been taken in that direction, seemed at loss what to do.

Finally, determined to attempt something, and seeing that our men were steadily and regularly falling back, they massed their troops and moved forward to the assault. From the whole line, including several guns half masked, in a position allowing an enfilading fire, they received repeated discharges at such a disadvantage that at last they retired to the woods, and until nightfall contented themselves with irregular and scattering volleys, backed by rounds of artillery, whose shot and shells plunged harmlessly into the banks of impenetrable redoubts or ricocheted angrily over the open plain. A considerable number of prisoners were captured, some of whom were taken along; but the majority were left with our own dead and wounded upon the field. At least fifteen hundred of the enemy were killed and wounded during this engagement, while our own losses did not reach one-seventh of that number. The First Regiment supported battery K, Fourth United-States Artillery, and guarded a portion of the railroad beyond the station, all the afternoon, and were not molested. The troops were kept constantly in motion, without hurry or panic, marching by column of regiments, and countermarching again if along any portion of their line the enemy appeared in force. Surprise was therefore impossible, and, after trying the line at all points that could be reached without making the desired impression, soon after dark the firing ceased. All night long the retreat continued. The roads were crowded with soldiers, horses, cattle, wagons, and batteries; and before daylight the opposite bank of White-oak Creek had been reached, the bridges were destroyed, and cannon posted commanding all the fords. It was a great oversight on the part of the

enemy, that, with cavalry or flying artillery, they did not follow up our rear at night, and on the night of the 29th especially, of all nights the most critical for our supply-trains, cattle, and batteries. Beyond White-oak Bridge, particularly if our infantry was held firmly along the swamp, they were comparatively safe.

This point was reached, passed, and held in force by our batteries; and such good time had been made, that the enemy did not appear upon our rear and flank until noon of the next day. Many of our troops had been drawn up in line of battle, waiting for them since morning. At twelve, they were seen covering the crest of Poplar Hill, which had been our former camping ground, advancing so as to overtake our rear. They had no sooner arrived within cannon-shot than they were admonished by nearly fifty guns not to come any farther. Immediately planting their own batteries in front of the position, they commenced a furious cannonade, answering us with gun for gun, under cover of which their infantry repeatedly attempted to cross the stream, but were driven back each time with serious loss.

Below, the stream was too wide and deep to allow a passage, and above, the ground was heavily wooded, and swampy, so that nothing was left for them but to hold the hill, and give and take to the best of their ability. This they did until long after dark. The fire of nearly one hundred guns made an almost continuous roar, which reverberated through the woods, and echoed along the roads as far as Turkey Bend on the James River. A large number of horses were killed, several wagon-teams stampeded, and a few guns dis-

mounted ; but the loss of men in killed and wounded was comparatively slight.

Simultaneously with the assault of Stonewall Jackson's forces from Poplar Hill, the men of Longstreet's, A. P. Hill's, Huger's, and Magruder's columns, commenced the passage of White-oak Swamp by the Charles City Road. It was the determination of these generals to penetrate the Union lines, and cut off our retreat. Miscalculating the time when the assault should have been made, or unable, on account of their artillery, to get through the swamp any sooner, they did not approach the vicinity of our pickets until late in the afternoon. As if to make up for lost time then, however, they came on through field and wood, closed in mass, almost on the double-quick. The Union forces had been resting for several hours, and moreover had chosen a position which afforded considerable advantage for the use of heavy guns, and received them with such a destructive fire as threw them at once into great disorder. Following up their advantage, the Union troops charged upon them ; and the entire line would have been routed, had not Gen. Lee called up all his reserves. Another advance was attempted ; but the position had been so well chosen, and the fire of the Union forces was so galling, that the oldest veterans quailed before it. It was simply impossible to stand in such a situation. Whole ranks of men were hurled to the ground as fast as they formed and attempted to advance. At first the Union soldiers did not endeavor to follow them as they retired, but allowed them to re-form at their leisure, and try it again. The moment their lines appeared in the recesses of the woods, however, or across the borders of the

fields, fire blazed from thirty thousand muskets, and leaped from the muzzles of at least fifty pieces of artillery. The roll of repeated volleys, the rapid reports of the batteries, the crash of solid shot through the trees, and the clatter of canister and spherical case striking against trunks and branches, mingled with the yells of the combatants and the cries of the wounded, in one deafening and terrific uproar, appalling alike to ear and heart. It seemed to have been settled and decided by the rebel leaders that they must break through our lines at this point if it cost them every man in their army; yet after hours of fighting, with every disadvantage, and at serious loss, they had not gained an inch of ground. The narrow space of the battle-ground was covered with their dead and wounded; darkness was creeping through the woods; our lines had been re-enforced and extended; the rebels began to fear a flank movement, with its dreaded accompaniment of an enfilading fire; and all their confidence oozed away: they became demoralized, and turned back.

During one of their attacks, the Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment was fiercely assailed, and Col. Wyman their commander killed, while scores of his brave men were left wounded and helpless on the field. As they went on to a fence fronting the rebel centre, they became mixed up with the First, and for a time both battalions fought together side by side. The brigade was then formed for an advance; and Gen. Grover in person led them forward into the forest. They had gone but a few hundred rods when they encountered three regiments, one on either flank dressed in blue, and one in front dressed in gray. Supposing

that the flank regiments were Federals, they continued to advance, when a terribly destructive fire was poured in upon them from the front and both sides.

The regiments in blue were rebels dressed in our uniform. The fire was returned without waiting for orders; but to remain there was certain death, and Gen. Grover gave the command to get out as soon as possible. How any succeeded in doing so is a marvel; for bullets were flying about by the thousand, and men were dropping in dozens. The woods were so full of smoke, that it seemed like a thick fog. Branches of trees, cut off by the flying shot, were falling to the ground on all sides. Surprise, confusion, uncertainty, prevailed among the men for a moment: they had been entrapped, and were in danger of being captured, as, had the rebel regiments on their flanks advanced, they might have been; but, before there was hardly time to think, they were out of it. How it was done, some of them who were in the midst of the fighting find it hard to say, the excitements of such a situation and experience are so absorbing. But done it was; and in a few moments, with a loss of nearly seventy killed, wounded, and missing, they were in their old position again.

Meantime, orders had been sent back to Stonewall Jackson to cover the rebel rear, should they be obliged to fall back to Richmond; and, according to the testimony of one of their own officers, directions were intrusted to a courier from Gen. Lee to get the public property in Richmond ready for removal in case we should advance. All the confidence of the previous few days had disappeared from the rebel ranks. In place of a foe dispirited, demoralized, exhausted, and

in full retreat, they found closed ranks of stubborn fighters, contesting every inch of ground they yielded, and falling back with the coolness and deliberation of perfect self-control; they found every portion of the line guarded with sleepless vigilance, and defended with unyielding determination; they found, too, that the stores, the wagon-train, the herds of cattle, and the immense war material they had calculated upon capturing so easily, had been destroyed, or removed to the rear, and they could not get at it, fight as hard as they might; and they found, worst of all, that the losses of men in their weary, depleted, worn-out columns, whose mangled bodies, thrown in masses so uselessly against our well-served batteries, strewed every rod of ground from Fair-Oaks Station for seventeen miles round to Turkey Creek, had been so serious, that, if the fighting continued many days longer, they would have hardly the skeleton of an army left.

The gloom occasioned by these discoveries spread from the officers to the men, and from the men to the hangers-on; and when, with victorious shouts at various portions of the line, our forces began to advance, it completed the moral prostration of the day. Teamsters first began to fall back, lashing their animals into a run over the uneven roads, and making a furious uproar with their lumbering vehicles as they jumped from stump to stump or hole to hole. Ammunition, hospital, supply trains, all caught the infection, and spread it as they proceeded; until at last even the battery drivers yielded to it, and rode away upon the keen jump, anxious only to get beyond the reach of danger as speedily as possible. At last, half reluctantly, but with obstinate resolution upon their faces,

the infantry, too, moved back. Old soldiers, who had been fighting ever since the war broke out, and to whom a defeat was bitterer than gall and wormwood, and raw recruits, half bewildered by the awful scenes of passion and carnage through which for a week they had been passing, choked the roads and paths leading to the Williamsburg Turnpike, and despite the outcries, commands, and expostulations of their officers, moved away from the front.

In a few moments, White-oak Swamp would have been the scene of a far greater panic to the Rebels than that of Bull Run was to the Federals, because its treacherous bogs and wide-spread morasses would have allowed no extrication to artillery or wagon trains sufficiently expeditious to save them from capture. But, during those few moments, it was shown how much one fearless and determined soul can do to check disaster, and snatch salvation from the very jaws of death.

A prominent rebel general gathered what troops he could, who would stand by him, and, forming them hastily in the woods, moved forward towards the front, flaming still with the devouring fires of battle. All men of heart stood still as they saw him coming, and then joined with him to save the day, or die in its loss. It was but a forlorn hope; but there was hope in it, if there were hope anywhere: so they turned back. Where they made their final stand was disadvantageous land for regular assaults in line, so the combatants stood there, pouring their shots into each other's bosoms, and, in some cases, engaging in personal conflicts with bayonets, swords, knives, or clubbed muskets. The Union soldiers had already advanced farther

than they had been commanded to. Their orders had been only to prevent the rebels from breaking through to the road. Not only had they done this, but had driven back the enemy several hundred yards. There, even after they rallied and frantically endeavored to regain what they had lost, they kept them; and though the solitudes of the forest were lighted up till nearly midnight with the flashes of their guns, as they endeavored repeatedly to displace our ranks, the endeavor was futile and finally abandoned: they posted their pickets, fell back, and gave up the battle-ground to surgeons, stretcher-bearers, and ambulances. All night long our men who were left behind heard their shouts and outcries, mingled with the groans of the dying, and the calls of the wounded for water and help; and all night long saw the glimmer of their candles and lanterns as they stumbled about in search of the injured, or removed prominent officers, as was their custom, from the heaps of common dead.

No sooner had darkness covered the earth than the Federal army began its movement towards James River again. Before morning, the rebels had been left almost entirely in their rear; and the whole wagon-train was parked along the James, under the guns of the "Galena" and "Mahaska," which had taken position upon our left flank. The rebel divisions of Gens. Wise and Holmes had made an attack upon Gen. Porter's corps, near Malvern Hill, during the afternoon of the 30th, but having been hastily summoned to the assistance of Gens. Longstreet, Hill, and Huger, when they were so hard pressed, had afforded just the opportunity desired by Gen. McClellan to establish his com-

munications with the gunboats and transports on the James, and thus obtain a new base of supplies.

A finer position than that afforded by Malvern Hill for defensive purposes could not be desired, nor even imagined. From the river to its extreme limit on the right, it was three miles or three and a half; and nearly the whole of this distance the top of the hill was level, and descended to the open fields in front by a gradual depression of the land, almost as smooth and regular as the glacis of a fort. Upon and around this, batteries, including the siege-train, were advantageously posted; and, sweeping along in the rear, the various divisions of infantry occupied a semicircular line of battle two miles and a half in front.

By experienced military men, it was hardly believed that the rebels would be so fool-hardy as to assault us again in such an advantageous position; and, as the day wore away, this belief gained ground. It was known that they had suffered fearfully in men and material, and that their troops must be about worn out with the marching and fighting of the previous six days. It was supposed that they knew of the arrival of our gunboats on the James; for the opposite side of the river was in their possession, and in constant communication with Richmond, and it was incredible that they would approach Malvern Hill, so fortified as we had made it, and presenting the most formidable line of batteries they had ever attempted to carry. But after a few scattering cannon-shots about noon, to ascertain the range, at four o'clock in the afternoon the rebel divisions began to form in front of and within the woods, in plain sight of our lines. As regiment after regiment wheeled into position, with banners flying,

and bayonets glittering in the sun, our men fairly pitied them, for they knew what must be the result. Gen. McClellan had personally superintended the location of his forces, so that not a shot might be lost. Gen. Keyes was on the extreme right, Gen. Franklin next; then Gen. Sumner's corps, embracing Richardson's and Sedgwick's divisions; afterwards Heintzelman, with Hooker, Kearney, and Couch; and on the left, Gen. Fitz John Porter, with Morell's division and the regulars. All told, there were fifty thousand men, most of whom had been resting from ten o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon.

The artillery opened first on both sides; but, as the enemy used wholly field-guns, most of their shot fell short, while the thirty-two and hundred pound shells from our siege pieces and gunboats struck in the very midst of their battalions, causing them to waver and tremble even before they began to advance. Whether it was this that made Magruder eager to press forward without reconnoitring our lines with sufficient care, or whether he supposed we were weakest on the left, is not known; but for some reason or other, most unfortunate to him, he directed his assault first towards the left wing, which was the strongest part of the whole line. As they advanced, the men were exposed to a fire in front and on the left flank from our posted artillery, while the right was pierced through and through by heavy shells from the gunboats. Column after column was marched up towards the slope of the hill, only to be thrown into complete disorder, and scattered into little knots and squads of men, making for the rear with the utmost speed. Whole ranks were mowed down in winrows, and melted away under the

driving storm of missiles hurled against them with incredible rapidity. Still, as it now became apparent that Magruder's object was to gain our rear, hold the only remaining road open to our retreat, and thus capture or cripple the entire army, the columns of the enemy were pressed up in tumultuous masses against the left; and still in battalions and brigades they were torn asunder, riven in twain, and sent reeling and tottering back again across the plain. The left having been re-enforced during a momentary lull in the firing, the defenders of the hill became, in turn, the assailants, and, rushing down with fixed bayonets upon the disconcerted masses of the enemy as they were endeavoring to rally and make a renewed stand, repulsed them at all points with terrible slaughter, and drove them headlong back into the woods. Scattered all along the line of their advance and retreat were guns, colors, wounded, dying, and dead; the latter lying, in some places, in heaps, one on top of another, where they had fallen under rounds of canister and spherical case from our batteries, or torn all to pieces by the terrific explosion of shells from the gunboats.

The commanders of these vessels could not see the ranks of the enemy, and so were not left to the decision of their own observations and judgment in the management of their pieces. Members of the signal corps from the tops of high trees or houses informed their lookouts of the position of the enemy, and thus enabled them to direct their fire with unerring accuracy and frightful effect. After the first repulse, the enemy brought out several batteries of field-pieces, and commenced a furious cannonade of Porter's lines, to which the artillery in front of Couch and Heintzelman

responded with the heavy siege-guns in the rear, disabling some of their carriages, killing many of their men and horses, and making the place so hot that it was untenable.

Just before the sun went down, a final, desperate attempt was made to attain the grand object now about to be lost forever, and, if it were possible, at any cost to gain the Union rear. Gunpowder had been mixed with whiskey, and the fiery potation distributed freely throughout the rebel rank and file; and, simultaneously with the commencement of a terrific cannonade, the rebel lines were pushed forward out of the woods once more, and over the fields fronting the hill. They came on, this time, a little to the left of their former direction of approach, yelling and bounding forwards as if determined to succeed. But again they were doomed to a bitter disappointment; again their lines were furrowed and rent in two by the fire of our artillery; and again the hundred-pound shells of the gunboats, redirected from the signal stations, went shrieking through the air over our heads, and burst with thundering reverberations, which momentarily rose above every other sound upon the battle-field, in the very midst of their divisions and brigades.

They were not content now to remain in one position, but, having assaulted the left unsuccessfully, approached next the centre, and so went on round almost to the extreme right. There were, however, no weak spots. Whatever point they approached flamed in patriotic anger, and hurled them back smitten and discomfited. For nearly two hours, they ran head foremost against the storm, until our gunners, out of shot, put in stones, and cut the chains off their

harnesses for charges to their guns, or knocked down the most forward among them with their rammers, as they rushed on the batteries. Everywhere they were foiled, slain, wounded, beaten back.

In one portion of the line, where Gen. Couch had the immediate command, he planted the colors of his former regiment, while the conflict was at its height, exactly where he wanted to have them held, and told his troops those flags must stay there, and they must stay there to maintain them. His commands were obeyed to the letter; for, through the whole of that sanguinary conflict, there they fluttered in the breeze, and not an inch of the alignment was lost. While the struggle was at its height, and the enemy were crowding around the circumference of the blazing semicircle, fiercely endeavoring to break through, it was a thrilling spectacle to see infantry and cavalry moving amid the bursting shells, solid shot, and fleecy masses of gunpowder-smoke, which momentarily hid them from view, across the inside, to strengthen every part which seemed in the least to waver or recoil. Thus the battle raged until the sun went down; and then, as the enemy seemed overwhelmed with despair, or stricken with paralysis, they were charged upon at several points, and completely routed along the entire line. Rapidly as possible they retired into the woods, and along the Charles-City Road, leaving to the Union army an undisputed line of march to the James River. Had they been vigorously pursued, there is little doubt that a panic would have broken out among their disheartened and exhausted forces, and that, in a few days more, Richmond would have been entered by our victorious army; but as this was not in the estab-

lished plan, and as the commanding general was not inclined to be venturesome, and exchange a certainty for an uncertainty, the order was given to fall back at once, sending the disabled, all the wagons, the baggage and cattle ahead, and to rendezvous at Harrison's Landing, on the James River. The scenes on the road were painful and trying in the extreme. Every house and barn unprotected by a Union bayonet had been extemporized into a hospital or infirmary for sick and wounded, where they were crowded and huddled together without any regard to regiment, brigade, division, or corps.

Along the river were various temporary camps formed by the clustering-together of ten, a hundred, a thousand, or more men, sick, wounded, or utterly worn out, who presented the most forlorn and pitiable look imaginable. The weather having been hot and dry during the previous few days, and the roads trodden and worn down till the dust was as fine as flour or the merest powder, everybody and every thing were covered with it, officers, men, horses, and wagons: it lay in masses on the hair, whitened the beard and mustache, lodged upon the eyebrows and clung around the eyelashes, and gathered all over the countenance, except where rills of perspiration swept it down upon the clothing, leaving furrows upon the features like lines of paint on the face of a savage; and it made everybody, without exception, so dirty, that it was positively painful to see others, or think of yourself, as in such a plight. Twice during the day the writer saw Gen. McClellan surrounded by the members of his staff; and, had it not been for their buttons and trappings, they might easily have been mistaken for a party of millers just from work.

Following an ambulance creaking under the weight of its ghastly burdens, might be seen men, crippled with rheumatism, pale and feeble from recent wounds, sick, emaciated, gasping for a breath of air, hobbling painfully along, some on crutches, some with canes, and some leaning on their comrades for support.

The sheltered fields containing solid ground were covered with thousands of wagons parked in systematic order ; while the horses were feasting on the half-ripened grain trampled into the earth all about them, or munching rations of forage from the feed-box ; and the mules were biting and kicking each other, or raising such hideous choruses of brays as only army-mules are capable of producing. The roads, meantime, exhibited an interminable procession of vehicles, ambulances, headquarter spring-wagons, and regimental teams,—some carrying baggage, some rations, some ammunition ; some, men who had been sun-struck or bullet-struck ; and others, men so foot-sore or leg-weary, that further muscular locomotion had become an utter impossibility. Surrounding and following the wagons were troopers, footmen, stragglers, from all departments of the service, reeking with perspiration, and half smothered by the dust ; and mixed up among them, men with blood on their faces, and their heads bound up ; men with blood on their coats, and their arms bound up ; men with blood on their pants, jerking themselves along by the aid of a strong staff, showing a wound in the leg ; or men with their jaws shot through or half shot away, who could not speak, but only point at the crimson clot of mingled gore and hair, across which a vivid line, more bright than the rest, told how the vital current was oozing fast away.

The sufferers were not all in motion ; for by the roadside sat many, completely worn out from wounds or sickness, looking wistfully at every ambulance or wagon that went past, to see if there was not room left for one more ; and beside them others, who had fainted utterly away, or were stretched out so fast asleep that the tramp of doom would hardly arouse them from their slumbers. Borne along on stretchers, also might be seen, occasionally, one, whose friends would not allow him to fall into the enemy's hands or lie groaning and helpless by the roadside. Nearly all of these were seriously, and some mortally wounded ; and the yearning, saddened look they wore, coming, as it were, not from the eyes, but from the depths of the soul longing for comfort, sympathy, and help, made the very heart ache to see it.

During the battles, which had now lasted seven days, hundreds of men had lost their regiments amid the darkness of the night, while filling their canteens at some brook or well, or in the confusion following a too eager charge ; cavalry had been dismounted, and cannoneers lost their guns ; some, filled with an unconquerable terror, had fallen back without orders, and others had obtained surgeons' certificates which they did not deserve. All these lay about in the woods, or near some hospital, without food, without officers, without organization ; many of them without guns or accoutrements, which they had thrown away. As fast as possible, they were gathered together by the cavalry, and sent back to the commands where they belonged. Early on the morning of Wednesday, July 2, the army was again in motion. Dark clouds covered the face of the heavens, and soon began to pour out a perfect

deluge of water upon the parched and dusty earth. It seemed to rain as it had never rained before, and speedily transformed the roads into ditches, and the babbling brooks, which ran across the roads, into rushing torrents. Yet on tramped the weary men, knee-deep in mud, and waist-deep in water; on plunged the jaded horses, bespattered, and spattering the yellow mire in all directions. By noon, the army, with all its immense material, debouched upon the open plain at Harrison's Bend, taking possession of wide-spread fields of wheat and clover, where the tents were pitched without, at first, much reference to order or regularity. At the landing were transports, which had come round by the way of Fortress Monroe from the Pamunkey River; and these, as speedily as possible, were relieved of their stores, and filled with the wounded and sick for conveyance to a better location. The army was drawn up along the shore, under cover of the gunboats, defensive works planned in the opposite direction, and at once begun. Just before night, rapid firing was heard in the rear; and soon solid shot and shell were flying through the air behind us, and striking among the tents which had just been pitched. An immediate assault was made upon the hostile battery, which, with all its supports, was easily captured, and nearly a thousand men brought in prisoners of war. Thus ended the famous seven-days' fighting on the Peninsula, and thus closed the campaign of the Chickahominy.

To us it was very disastrous, reducing our army by sickness, death, the ordinary casualties of war, resignations, and discharges, at least fifty thousand men. To the rebels, it must have been much more so, in-

asmuch as their whole military strength had been concentrated, and brought into the field around Richmond ; and upon the success of their efforts to capture or annihilate our forces there, they seemed to base their expectations of final prevalence everywhere, which would secure the establishment of their nefarious cause at home, and the recognition of their bogus government abroad.

According to official data, the Union loss from June 25 to July 2 inclusive was less than two thousand killed, about eight thousand wounded, and six thousand missing ; making a grand total of but sixteen thousand men. The public property abandoned or destroyed, consisted of twenty-five thousand muskets ; twenty two or three pieces of artillery ; a few wagons, which broke down and were fired with their contents ; one complete railroad-train, locomotive, tender, and cars, which, under a full head of steam, were sent over a broken bridge pell-mell into the river, and large supplies of ammunition, rations, clothing, equipments, and tents, — costing in the aggregate five or six millions of dollars.

The rebel loss in killed and wounded must have far exceeded ours, as their men were exposed during most of the fighting to the point blank fire of our batteries. Of prisoners, we took about three thousand men. But greater than any other was the rebel loss of heart, and confidence in the ultimate establishment of their cause. Our army, notwithstanding its retreat, was almost as near to Richmond as before, and in the course of a few months could be made larger than ever. We had water communications which could not be cut off or blockaded ; and the loyal people were

full of enthusiasm regarding the prosecution of the war. The prediction contained in Gen. McClellan's address to the army, issued on the 4th of July, was not without foundation, therefore, declaring that the Army of the Potomac should yet enter the capital of the so-called Confederacy; the National Constitution should prevail; and the Union, which alone could insure internal peace and external security to each State, must and should be preserved, cost what it might in time, treasure, and blood.

While in camp, at Harrison's Landing, various rumors reached the army concerning the defenceless state of Richmond, and the ease with which it could be assaulted and taken. Partly to determine whether the roads had been fortified or were held in force, Gen. Hooker's division, accompanied by a large body of cavalry, started on a reconnoissance, after dark, Aug. 2, in light marching order; but in some manner were misled regarding the roads, and returned to camp at daybreak, without having accomplished anything. Monday night, Aug. 4, the attempt was renewed, and this time with better success, as at daylight the skirmishers came upon a battery in position, which had perfect range of the road over which we were advancing, and notwithstanding a fog, which prevented the gunners from seeing the disposition of our forces, enabled them to land their shells exactly where they annoyed us the most. As it was not desirable to charge upon them in front, until certain arrangements had been made which would cut off their retreat, this fire was endured for some time in patience. As previously agreed upon, the charge was then ordered, and, greatly to the mortification of all

concerned, the enemy were seen escaping by a road which was supposed to have been most firmly closed against them ; the officer to whom this duty was assigned having failed to accomplish it because he had admitted an enemy into his mouth which had stolen away his brains. Instead of a thousand or more prisoners, we took short of a hundred ; and, instead of a battery of guns, not a single piece. This ended all attempts to approach the rebel capital by the Peninsula ; and the position of the army at Harrison's Landing was strengthened in the rear with a chain of redoubts stretching from wing to wing, connected by a line of infantry covers, in front of which the woods had been felled to form an abatis ; and by the anchorage of several gunboats in the James River, along the front, which really transformed the whole region into one huge fortress five miles long and three miles wide.

The following is a list of casualties in the Massachusetts First at the battle of Glendale, as taken from the official report forwarded by Col. Cowdin to headquarters :—

FIELD AND STAFF.

Major Charles P. Chandler, supposed to be wounded and a prisoner, but afterwards believed to have been killed.

Company A : Killed, Private Julius A. Phelps. Wounded, H. M. Finly, J. C. Singer, Charles D. Cates. Missing, John Odea, William Menary, Fernando McCrillis.

Company B : Wounded, Lieut. Moses H. Warren, slightly ; Sergeant W. E. Hayward, Private George

H. Hanscom, both slightly. Missing, Private George Barry.

Company C: Wounded, Privates E. Nichols, S. A. Goodhue. Missing, Private G. E. Wright.

Company D: Killed, Sergeant Frederic Raw. Wounded, Lieut. William Sutherland, Sergeant Isaac Williams, Corporal William R. Rice, Private John Kyle, all missing.

Company E: Wounded, Lieut. Miles Farwell, slightly, Sergeant Thomas Strangman, Private Conrad Herman, Edwin P. Whitman, the two last likewise missing.

Company F: Wounded, Alexander Gordon. Missing, Corporal James E. Keeley, Private John Carney, Edward R. Chandler, Daniel Garrity, Simon Stern.

Company G: Wounded, Timothy Connors, Charles H. Goodwin, Joshua M. Caswell, Alva J. Wilson, Philomen White. Missing, first Sergeant R. M. Magguire, Private John Allen, Edwin Gillpatrick.

Company H: Wounded, Privates John R. Cudworth, Thomas Thombs, George H. Green, Nathaniel Allen.

Company I: Wounded, Privates William Fleming, John E. Grant, Timothy Hurley, Wentworth Wilson. Missing, Privates William A. M. Nerland, Augustine Towle, Jeremiah Crowell.

Company K: Killed, William B. Hall, John Dolan. Wounded: Lieut. Frank Carruth, slightly, Privates Lord A. Payson, William Clark, William J. Hudson, Thomas R. Mathers, George H. Wheeler, J. W. Nelling. Missing, Wesley Jackson, John P. Ross, Charles L. Leonard, David B. Copeland.



CHAPTER IX.

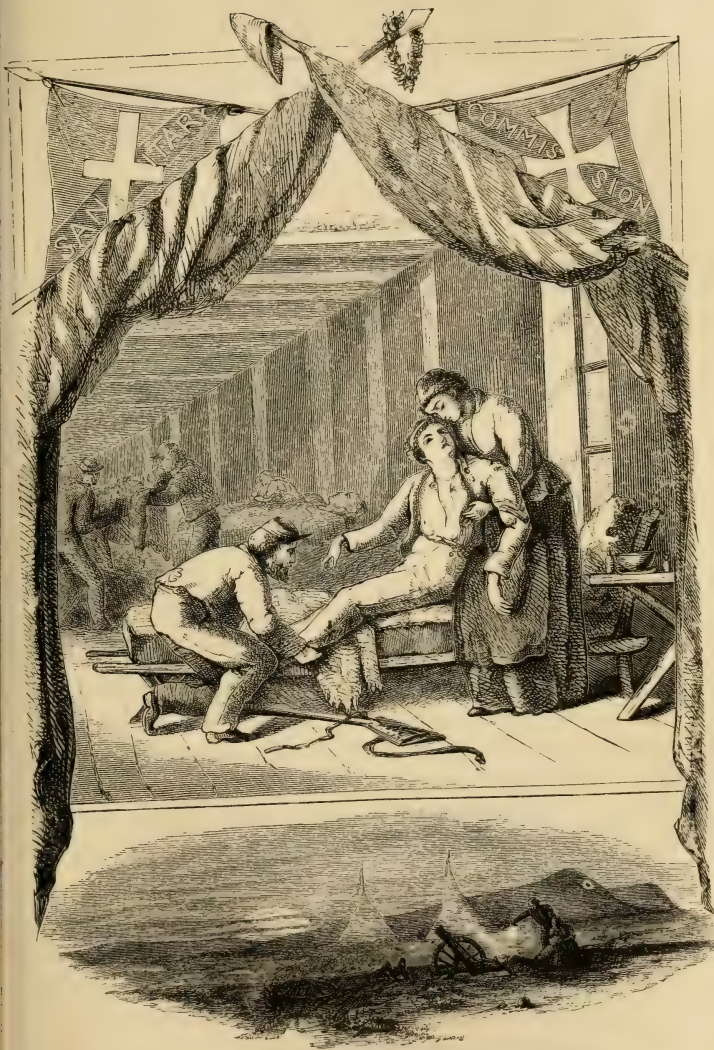
HARRISON'S LANDING AND WARRENTON JUNCTION.

"Not as we hoped! — but what are we?
Above our broken dreams and plans
God lays, with wiser hand than man's,
The corner-stones of liberty.

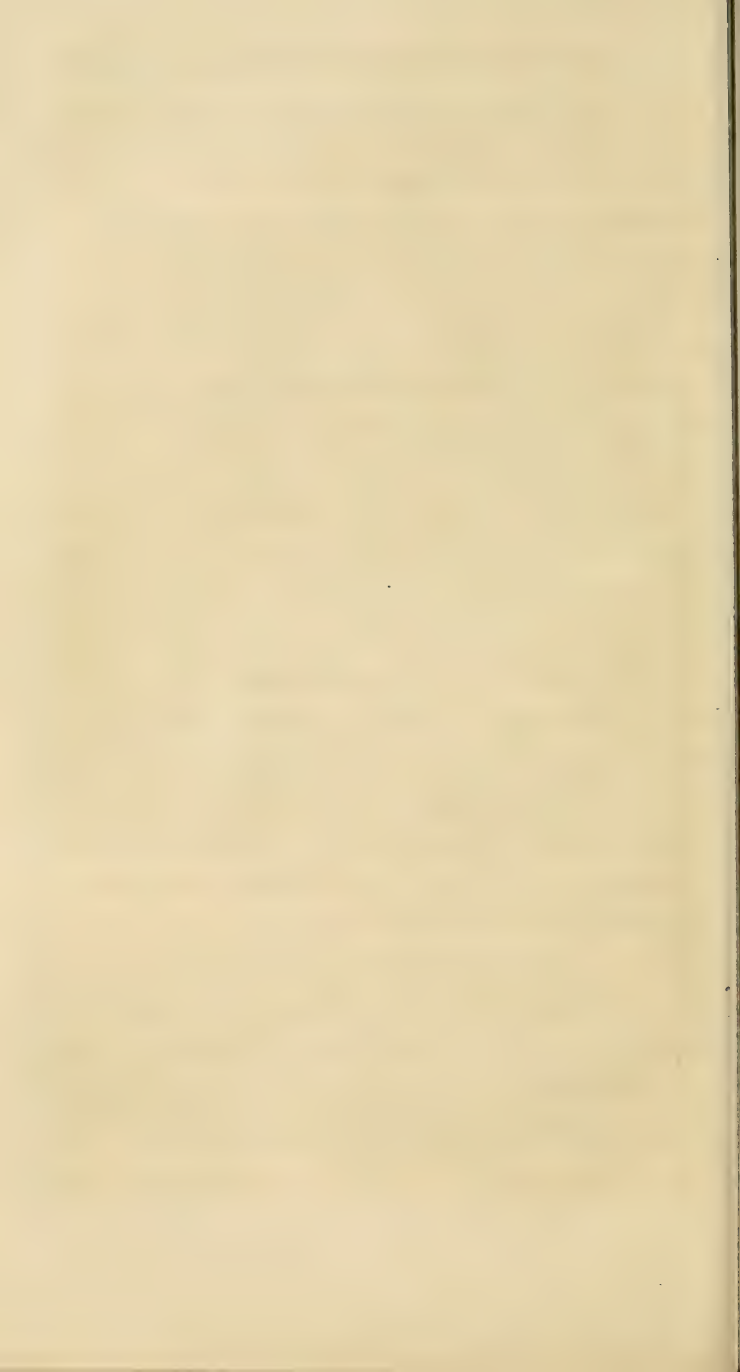
Rejoice in hope! The day and night
Are one with God, and one with them
Who see by faith the cloudy hem
Of Judgment fringed with Mercy's light."

J. G. WHITTIER.

HARRISON'S LANDING — so named, according to report, from the family of President Harrison, which formerly lived in the vicinity — was a spot of land formed by a bend in the James River, twenty-five miles distant from Richmond in a south-easterly direction. The land is extremely fertile, bearing immense crops of corn, wheat, clover, and grass, most of which, at the time of our occupation, had just been gathered in, or was standing ready for the reaper. The land sloped down from the woods, from a mile to three and five miles back to the river, presenting broad and level surfaces for the labors of the husbandman; and the slope continued into the river, which was shallow for a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet from the bank. In order to afford facilities for the deposit of goods, long piers had been constructed, running out into deep water, called landings; and these



CARE OF THE WOUNDED AT HARRISON'S LANDING.



landings were usually named after the persons upon whose plantations they were built.

No better defensive position could have been chosen than Harrison's Landing. The bend in the river enabled the gunboats to patrol the whole line in front, while the redoubts and abatis constructed along the hills constituted an impenetrable barrier to the rear. The river bottom, shallow yet firm, afforded admirable facilities for washing and bathing; and the long level plains skirting the banks, the best of parade-grounds for inspections and reviews. Upon the plantation were several houses, barns, and negro huts, one fine old residence called the Berkeley Mansion, and two or three smaller structures, which were at once appropriated for hospital purposes. The occupants were not found at home, having removed themselves and such of their valuables as were portable out of harm's way, leaving only their rich carpets, elegant furniture, and other heavy articles, not easily transported.

Throughout the day succeeding our settlement at the landing, hospital-attendants, stretcher-bearers, ambulance-drivers, surgeons, and their servants, tramped in and out of these rooms, from cellar to garret, with boots covered with the adhesive mud of the region at least six inches deep all round the houses, and at night the condition of carpets and furniture can easily be imagined. Every room was crowded to suffocation, amputations were constantly going on, and men dying every hour from the effects of wounds and sickness. As fast as they could be obtained, tents were pitched, and into these the slightly wounded and moderately sick were carried, and their wants attended to. Our

surgeons and hospital corps had been already well-nigh broken down by the labors of the previous week, but they took hold here with renewed energy, and, receiving invaluable assistance and co-operation from the agents of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, from various benevolent ladies who had come out to act as nurses and benefactors, and from other volunteers, who were ever ready to lend a helping hand when occasion required it, soon had affairs systematized, and the helpless cared for as well as they could be under the circumstances.

Fourth of July was celebrated at the landing by the firing of salutes, the performances of the bands, and patriotic speeches in various quarters. The commanding general had previously gone round among the several camps, assuring the men that matters wore a promising aspect on the whole, that re-enforcements would soon be at hand, and they should enjoy the rest they needed and had richly earned.

A change of camp was made July 4, by the First Regiment, in company with the rest of the brigade, to an open field three-quarters of a mile in the rear of their first position; and another ordered to take place the next night to a permanent camping-ground farther back still, as long as the army should remain at Harrison's Landing. Owing to vexatious delays in getting across certain brooks, the regiment did not arrive in vicinity of the spot selected till nearly midnight; and then the men threw themselves upon the ground and slept soundly until morning. At nine o'clock, A.M., Sunday, July 6, the final move was made, and the camp established on a slight elevation, having a pond and milldam on the right, the rest of the division with

the headquarters of Gens. Hooker and Grover on the left, a battery in the rear, and the woods in front.

Never did any of God's creatures enjoy pure water more than the soldiers did this pond and dam. The dam was so constructed that the fall made a delightful douche bath, while the pond afforded the best facilities for washing, plunging, and swimming. All day long the shouts of happy bathers could be heard as they laved their weakened frames in the invigorating stream, or allowed its silvery sheet to patter across their bronzed faces, and down their grateful limbs. The weather here was intensely hot, and the flies so numerous that they blackened every thing with their innumerable swarms. A meal was never served but they covered the food as soon as it was exposed, flew into soups, gravies, tea, and coffee, and kept hands and arms in constant motion brushing them off from face and neck. If Pharaoh suffered any thing like the annoyances they occasioned to us, it is no wonder he consented so speedily to let the children of Israel go. To get rid of them, the men resorted to various devices, such as planting trees before their quarters, arranging boughs around their tents, or making the tents as dark as possible. But the most effectual method seemed to be, to entice them into a trap formed of gunpowder and molasses, or sugar, and, while they were feasting on the sweets thus generously provided, to blow up the whole company. They were thus slaughtered by the million. But the old saying seemed to be verified, that where one was killed a hundred came to his funeral, for nothing apparently effected any diminution of their numbers. Horses suffered even more than men, for most of them had no coverings whatever, and their

skins were mottled with blotches where they had been bitten through the hair, while standing in their places. All day long they were kept stamping and moving about, so that although they had little or nothing to do, and were abundantly fed, they actually grew poor, and wore out more shoes than when employed on active duty.

Owing to the intense heat, fatigue-details were not allowed to labor in the woods or trenches during the middle of the day, but were called up early in the morning to improve the cooler hours between four and eight, and summoned again in the afternoon to do similar service between four and eight in the evening. This allowed eight hours for work, eight for refreshment and sleep, and eight for recreation, reading, writing, or personal improvement ; and was an introduction of the eight-hour system hardly anticipated by its philanthropic advocates in this country or abroad. It is certainly worth something as a matter of reference, for had the men been worked ten hours or more in that hot climate, they would have broken down by scores.

Tuesday, July 8, President Lincoln paid the army a visit, and, in company with Gen. McClellan and the corps and division commanders, and others, rode along the lines to see in what condition the army was. The troops were formed in front of their quarters, salutes were fired, bands played "Hail to the Chief," and enthusiastic cheers rose from all points, showing that the commander-in-chief of the nation was, as he richly deserved to be, popular and beloved by the soldiers. In our rear at this time the rebels were perfectly quiet, and, with the exception of a few scouts, had fallen back upon Richmond. They still held James River, how-

ever, both above and below us, and, shortly after mail and supply-steamers began to run regularly between the Union camp and Fortress Monroe, commenced to annoy them by pushing up light batteries to the river-bank, and opening suddenly with shell and canister upon the passing vessels. At Fort Powhatan, seventy-five miles up the James River, where the banks rise sixty feet above high-water mark, they made repeated efforts to establish a blockade. Failing in this, they got up sudden raids upon vessels going up or down, and once assailed the "Daniel Webster," under the very guns of the "Sabago" gunboat, which was acting as a convoy. The channel here being only three hundred yards wide, and close by the hostile shore, afforded an excellent opportunity for a very effective fire. The rebels improved it to the utmost of their ability, not only with cannon-shot, but also with Minie-balls from the rifles of their sharp-shooters. The pilot of the "Daniel Webster" was struck in the hand, but signalled to the engineer to put on all steam, and succeeded in getting out of range without the loss of a soul on board, although various parts of the boat were perforated through and through by bullets and solid shot. The gunboat was so situated that the rebel batteries might have swept her deck fore and aft, but fortunately there was too much elevation to their guns, and the shots all flew through the rigging. Before the elevation could be corrected, the "Sabago" swung around, showing her broadside, opened with the heavy guns at her bow and stern, and soon sent the rebel gunners scampering over the fields. Subsequently no vessels were allowed to go up or down the James without armed convoys, and at various portions of it gunboats were stationed

to prevent the erection of earthworks designed to harass our transports or impede navigation.

About the same time the "Maratanza," gunboat, while out on picket duty, just above our camping ground, came suddenly upon a little rebel craft, formerly a tug, made into a gunboat called the "Teaser." Both vessels were hidden by a sharp curve in the river, flowing here between high banks, and both were approaching each other; the "Teaser" coming down, and the "Maratanza" going up. After they hove in sight neither could get out of the way; and the "Maratanza," by a few well-directed shots, one of which, a hundred-pound rifled shell, exploded directly underneath the "Teaser's" boilers, completely disabling her, compelled the little rebel to surrender. She had numerous papers, charts, maps, plans, and designs of different fortifications on board, and an old balloon, made from discarded silk dresses, contributed doubtless by rebel women, which it was intended to inflate and send up for reconnoitring purposes near our camp at Harrison's Landing.

During the second week in July, while piles of brush and camp refuse were burning, which had been set on fire to get them out of the way, a strong wind brought the devouring element towards the tents. Every thing was dry as tinder, the ground covered with dead leaves and branches, and it seemed as though the camp must go. The whole regiment was called out to fight the raging element; but it approached nearer and nearer, rolling up huge volumes of suffocating smoke, and darting forth fiery tongues which half-smothered and scorched the men, and, had not some one suggested the starting of another fire to meet that

so rapidly approaching, the entire encampment must have been burned to ashes ; as it was, this checked it, and the tents were saved. About this time Mr. James L. Jones, of Chelsea, obtained the appointment of Sutler in the First Regiment, and in company with him came Hon. Frank B. Fay and Miss Helen L. Gilson, of Chelsea. This estimable young lady devoted herself assiduously to the welfare of the soldiers in the First and other Massachusetts regiments, as a nurse ; and in various division, corps, and army hospitals, from the commencement to the conclusion of the war, cheerfully performed her self-imposed duties of patriotic benevolence. She was ever ready with a kind word, a sweet smile, a moving song, an humble prayer, a chapter from the Bible, a paper, book, tract, or a few earnest, friendly words, to cheer the disconsolate, comfort the sorrowful, assist the living to get along, or prepare the dying to depart in peace. She cooked palatable dishes, and prepared large quantities of tempting broths or cooling drinks for the sick and wounded, and by years of devoted service endeared herself alike to officers and men.

Among other welcome visitors during this hot season, when the daily regimental sick-list ran up to between a hundred and a hundred and twenty every morning, was the Rev. Mr. Alvord, Secretary of the American Tract Society. He came around regularly in a covered wagon, which formed his vehicle by day and his tabernacle by night, bringing not only excellent religious reading for the mind, but cordials, jellies, farina, preserved fruits, &c., for the body. His advent was always hailed with pleasure, and his genial, hearty words listened to with profit.

An unusually large number of resignations took place in the regiment about the middle of July. Lieut.-Col. Wells, having been commissioned colonel of the Thirty-Fourth Regiment, took his leave. Capt. George H. Smith also resigned on account of ill-health, and returned home. Capt. Alfred W. Adams threw up his commission for the same reason. Lieut. William P. Cowie was promoted from the quartermaster's berth to be brigade commissary, and Lieut. Charles L. Chandler was commissioned captain in the Thirty-Fourth Regiment, under Col. Wells.

As soon as the redoubts and breastworks planned by Gen. McClellan were completed, and the army placed in a perfectly defensible position, the usual routine of military life in camp was resumed. Drilling took the place of digging, and picket duty was distributed as regularly as it had been formerly at Fair Oaks. Several new regiments were added to divisions and corps greatly reduced in available material, and large accessions of fresh men received from the Northern States.

At midnight, on July 31, the whole camp was alarmed by a sudden fire of artillery, which opened from across the James upon our mail-boat landing, and the headquarters of Col. Ingals at Westover, close by. At first it was believed that the long-expected visit from rebel iron-clads, which had been for so many months in course of preparation at Richmond, and for which our fleet had been most thoroughly prepared, was at last being paid. But the small caliber of the guns and the steady direction of the firing soon proved the contrary, and it was discovered that some batteries of field artillery had been posted, under cover

of night, nearly opposite our position, which were in full play upon every thing within range of their shot. The river at this point was narrower than below or above, being hardly three-quarters of a mile wide, and was crowded with steamers, schooners, tugs, canal-boats, and transports of all descriptions. Very few of them were hit, except in the rigging, as the guns were elevated to reach across to the other side. A continuous stream of shot and shell went whizzing and hissing among the tents and wagons, however, illuminating the whole encampment with a sudden flash when shells exploded, and causing men and animals to move about and make for the rear in the liveliest manner conceivable.

The rebel batteries were three in number, mounting six, ten, and twelve-pounders; and the men who worked them were evidently intent upon accomplishing a large amount of mischief in a short space of time, for they loaded and fired with remarkable celerity, and the flashes and reports of their guns were almost incessant. Our own gunboats at this time were away up the river, expecting the advent of the rebel iron-clads, so that with the exception of the flag-ship, "Wachusett," and the "Cimerone," we had nothing available with which to reply to the hostile assault. As speedily as possible these moved up, and opened upon the assailants, and a portion of the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery was double-quickened to the river bank, where several rifled thirty-two-pound Parrots were planted, and these were managed with such telling effect, that the fire of the rebels instantaneously slackened, and in less than twenty minutes it had ceased altogether. No doubt they had hoped to spread

consternation through our army, set fire to our steamers and transports in the river, and destroy life and property along the bank ; but only four men and a few mules were killed, five men wounded, and a couple of tents rendered useless by the explosion of shells. Determined not to be annoyed in this way again, two regiments from Gen. Porter's corps were embarked the next day upon steamers, carried across the river and landed, under the guns of the "Mahaska," on the opposite bank. Squads of hostile cavalry were observed flying about with the utmost activity ; but after throwing out pickets, the regiments proceeded to burn every habitation in the vicinity whence the firing of the previous night had proceeded. Ten dwelling-houses were reduced to ashes in the course of the day ; among them, the splendid family mansion of Edmund Ruffin, who aimed and fired the first gun at Fort Sumter, in the beginning of the war, and, at its conclusion, blew out his own brains, with a pistol, because it had not succeeded. During this work of destruction our troops were entirely unmolested, and returned at night without the loss of a man. The enemy never repeated the bombardment again by day or night.

Notwithstanding an abundant quantity of water for washing and bathing, the camps at Harrison's Landing were but poorly supplied with water for cooking and drinking. In our own regiment, therefore, a well was sunk, and the earth excavated to the depth of twenty-five or thirty feet to obtain the article desired. Above a stratum of hard blue clay, so dense that images and other ornaments were made of it by the men, were found the remains of an ancient forest,

at least twenty feet below the surface of the ground ; and one day the diggers came across and sent up to the surface a live toad, which had not seen daylight for thousands of years, if ever.

The expenses of Government were now counting up to millions a day ; and, in casting about to see how they might be lessened without detriment to the service, it was concluded that regimental bands might be dispensed with, and, by allowing only a band to a brigade, a large amount of money, in the aggregate, be saved in course of the year. To the majority of the men such a method of retrenchment was distasteful, especially when accompanied by the most extravagant expenditures in other departments, against which not a word of remonstrance was ever heard. The music of the bands exercised a salutary moral influence over all that heard it, and cheered them up after the exhaustions of fatigue duty, or during the tedium of camp routine. It was a great addition, moreover, to the impressiveness of dress parades, guard-mountings, and general reviews ; and the sum required in course of a year to pay the musicians was so small a portion of the grand amount, that it seemed hardly worth a serious consideration ; but the project was carried out, and we soon bade adieu to the members of our regimental band, and never were allowed to have another during the remainder of our period of service.

An excellent move was made in the medical department of the United-States army, subsequent to the Peninsular campaign, allowing every full regiment to have two assistant surgeons instead of one. It was found that in ordinary camp duty one was hardly sufficient, and during an engagement serious suffering

and loss of life resulted from so meagre a supply of skilful and experienced practitioners. To the Medical Staff of the First Regiment Dr. T. Fletcher Oakes, of South Dartmouth, was added at Harrison's Landing, giving us a full complement in this department, when, on account of the sickness of Surgeon Richard H. Salter, it was greatly needed.

Throughout the army, at this time, the surgeons had their hands full of business. In many cases the Chickahominy fever, brought from the bogs and ditches of White-oak Swamp, developed itself with fatal effect. Diseases induced by exhaustion, hot weather, excitement, and over-work, also abounded, and kept at least twenty per cent. of the troops on the list of "excused from duty."

Of our own regiment, four died in camp, namely, Alfred A. Swallow, quartermaster's sergeant; Thomas W. Reynolds, Company D; Edward A. Derby, Company F; and Henry Tarbox, Company G.

Their funerals were attended by all the men of the regiment, and a feeling of solemnity seemed to pervade their hearts fully equal to that usually observable at home on similar occasions.

The second battle of Malvern Hill, described in Chapter VIII., which was fought Tuesday, Aug. 5, caused the death of but few among the Union forces engaged, and none connected with the Massachusetts First. Only one man of this command was injured, and he not seriously, — John A. Emory, of Company E, by a contusion in the side.

Aug. 6, some twenty of our number, taken prisoners of war during the seven-days' fighting on the Peninsula, were exchanged by the authorities at Rich-

mond, and returned to their places. Most of them looked very thin and worn; and all averred that they had seen enough of rebel fare and rebel quarters. They were allowed only one-fourth of a loaf of bread and a small piece of fresh meat, per day, to a man, without tea, coffee, sugar, or vegetables; and to obtain fresh water were obliged to dig wells, or dip up that flowing in the river. They were poorly supplied with tents; and the sick were wickedly neglected. Their guards were civil enough, as a general thing, especially as through them they carried on a constant trade for provisions and clothing such as could be bought in Richmond; and to a man the rebels preferred greenbacks to their own money. In passing through the streets, to and from prison, the men seemed to regard them with aversion or indifference; but occasionally some imp of a woman would stick out her lip, turn up her nose, or twitch away her skirt from contact with their clothing, showing how much more petty and spiteful was the hostility of the secesh feminine than of the secesh masculine; but now and then they saw looks, heard whispers, and received bounties from fair hands, that made their hearts bound under their jackets, and convinced them that in the very hot-bed and headquarters of rebellion loyal souls still remained, and still continued steadfast to the Union and its brave defenders. They reported fortifications of great strength around Richmond, and an immense array of troops gathered and gathering continually from all parts of the South; but were assured that the rebel leaders were becoming more and more unpopular, and the rebel cause was losing ground. During most of the month of July, great uncertainty was felt at Wash-

ington regarding the best disposition to make of the Army of the Potomac. That it was one of the best armed, best trained, best led, and most experienced armies in the country, everybody felt; but it was not large enough to advance unaided against the formidable line of earthworks around Richmond, covering, as was then estimated, fully one hundred thousand of the enemy's forces; nor could it be reënforced without seriously weakening other important points, and perchance exposing Washington itself to the danger of capture.

On the 26th of July, Gen. Halleck, who three days previously had been made, by order of President Lincoln, General-in-Chief of all the Union land forces, and Gen. Burnside, accompanied by Gen. Meigs, arrived at Harrison's Landing, and held a long consultation with Gen. McClellan. The latter general thought that with fifty thousand fresh men he might venture another assault upon Richmond. Gen. Halleck could not promise him over twenty thousand. He told Gen. Halleck he would try and do something with that number; but, immediately after his departure to Washington, telegraphed to him that it was impossible, and he must have thirty-five thousand, or nothing could be attempted. The thirty-five thousand could not possibly be obtained, and therefore a telegram was forwarded, ordering the withdrawal of the entire army from the James River, to take place the 3d of August. Against this Gen. McClellan respectfully protested, alleging that it might prove a fatal blow to the Union cause; that it would necessitate a march of one hundred and twenty-five miles; that it would greatly demoralize the army, depress the loyal people of the

North, encourage the enemy, and tempt armed intervention from foreign powers. He also suggested that at Harrison's Landing he was nearer the centre and life of the Rebellion than he could get in any other direction; that his water communications were perfect; that he could rely upon the powerful aid of the gunboats; that a decided Union victory in the vicinity of Richmond might crush the military strength of the enemy forever; and that plenty of reënforcements were available, if they could only be withdrawn from such points as Harper's Ferry, Newport News, &c., where their presence was by no means absolutely necessary. To this Gen. Halleck replied, that his order had been issued only after careful and mature deliberation of the questions involved, and in accordance with the advice of the highest officers whose views had been solicited; that it was utterly impossible to spare the troops needed for reënforcements, without uncovering the capital, Maryland, and even Pennsylvania; that the location at Harrison's Landing was extremely insalubrious, and was growing rapidly more so; that the reduction of Fort Darling and the James-River batteries, which must necessarily precede any assault upon Richmond, would require considerable time; and that the enemy, who had now gathered an immense army, might leave men enough to resist his operations, and send another force sufficiently large to rout Gen. Pope, force him behind the defences of Washington, and lay siege to and take that city by assault before Gen. McClellan's army could be of any service whatever in opposing the movement. Therefore the order must be obeyed.

Upon this, it was decided to make a retreat down

the left bank of the James River, to Yorktown, and possibly Fortress Monroe; and, to divert rebel attention from the projected movement, Gen. Pope's forces were advanced across the Rappahannock, in the direction of Culpepper Court House.

Preparations were made straightway to evacuate Harrison's Landing. The sick and wounded were sent to Fortress Monroe. Supplies of every description, piled up along the river-bank, were transferred to the vessels which brought them, and conveyed away. All surplus baggage, tents, stores, and property, public and private, were gathered together, and sent down to the wharves. Thursday, Aug. 14, the right wing departed; and the next day, after waiting from ten o'clock, A.M., until two and a half, P.M., the brigade of Gen. Grover brought up the rear of the left.

Meantime, as early as June 27, a new army had been created by President Lincoln, called the "Army of Virginia," comprising the troops under Gens. Frémont, Banks, McDowell, and Sturgis; and the command of it assigned to Major-Gen. John Pope. The Army of the Potomac, after its withdrawal from the Peninsula, was ordered to reënforce the Army of Virginia, and be subject to the commands of its principal officer, Gen. Pope. This was an indirect displacement of Gen. McClellan, and must have galled him to the quick.

Gen. Pope was delayed from taking the field as quickly as he otherwise might, by the absence of Gen. Halleck from Washington. He busied himself, however, in ascertaining the strength and condition of his forces, indicating the manner in which he proposed to meet the enemy, and sending out various addresses and general orders, which were all aflame with patri-

otic fire, and full of vigor and determination respecting the approaching campaign.

People living along lines of railroads, telegraphs, and common routes of travel, were to be held responsible for their good order and preservation; every house sheltering an actual assailant of the soldiers was to be razed with the ground; disloyal citizens, unwilling to take the oath of allegiance, were liable to arrest, or removal beyond the Union lines; and forage was to be appropriated without question, whenever found in the enemy's country.

Under the influence of these orders, large numbers of houses were entered, females were insulted, private property plundered, and many grievous outrages perpetrated, which induced the rebels to declare, by way of retaliation, that Gen. Pope had placed himself without the pale of civilized warfare; and both he and his officers, in the event of capture, should be considered and treated only as highwaymen.

The departure of Gen. McClellan from the Peninsula caused great rejoicings in Richmond, inasmuch as it gave Gen. Lee an opportunity to assume the offensive, which he had long been desiring to do. Stonewall Jackson, by compelling Gen. Banks to evacuate the Shenandoah Valley, had demonstrated, so it was thought at Richmond, the feasibility of recovering the whole of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky; of liberating Maryland; of capturing Washington and Baltimore; and extending the tide of conquest from Harrisburg and Philadelphia in the east, to Cincinnati and St. Louis in the west.

Fired with the idea of this brilliant prospect, the rebel authorities immediately began preparations for

an advance towards Maryland. No less than one hundred and fifty thousand men had been gathered, armed, accoutred, and equipped at the rebel capital; and of these, at least one hundred and twenty thousand could be spared for the proposed invasion.

As early as the first week in August, they began to move; and by Saturday, the 9th, appeared in strong force at Cedar Mountain, a sugar-loaf eminence, two miles west of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, in the rear of Culpepper Court House. Here they were met by Gen. Banks, at the head of the second army corps of the Army of Virginia, and after a sanguinary conflict, much of which was hand to hand, compelled to fall back. The Union loss was fifteen hundred killed, wounded, and missing, fifteen hundred muskets, two Napoleon guns, and some ammunition. The rebel loss was equally severe in men, including the two generals, Winder and Trimble. The enemy retired with such precipitancy, after the engagement, as to leave many of their dead and wounded uncared for on the ground; from which it was concluded that the bulk of their forces had not yet come up.

Shortly after, a party of horsemen were surprised at Louisa Court House, near the Rapidan, and made prisoners. Upon one of them was found an important autograph letter from Gen. Lee, indicating his intention to hurry up his forces to the position occupied by Gen. Pope, attack him before he could be reënforced by the Army of the Potomac, interrupt his communications with Washington, and thus capture or destroy his entire army. A telegram was immediately despatched by Gen. Halleck, ordering him to fall back across the Rapidan, and look well to his flanks. At

the same time, Gen. Cox, in Western Virginia, was ordered to send the principal part of his troops at once to Gen. Pope; and couriers were started off to urge forward the columns of Gen. McClellan with all possible speed.

On Friday, Aug. 15, the Army of the Potomac left Harrison's Landing in the rear, and commenced a retrograde movement towards Williamsburg and Yorktown. It was anticipated that some difficulty would be experienced from assaults in the rear; but, as the rebels had sent all their available forces in the direction of Culpepper and Manassas, this anticipation was not realized, and the division encamped that night four miles below Charles City Court House, near the bank of James River, at nine o'clock, having been unmolested through the day.

The court house and jail were the principal buildings of this Virginia town, there being only a store, a couple of dwellings, some barns, and a few negro huts in addition. The country was looking finely in all directions, and the plantations in a fair state of cultivation.

The march was resumed on the 16th, and continued to within a short distance of the Chickahominy River. There was some trouble here about rations, on account of the distribution of smoked pork that was tainted. The men refused to receive it, and appealed to their officers in their behalf. The officers, of course, sustained them; and a better article was obtained.

On the 17th, the Chickahominy was crossed; and, after a long and fatiguing march, the village of Barhamsville reached. Here the shop of a blacksmith who had been heard talking treason, was torn down,

and the boards appropriated for the comfort of the soldiers.

On the 18th, Williamsburg was reached ; and during that day and the next considerable time was spent in revisiting the spots where the hardest fighting occurred on the previous 5th of May.

After remaining two nights in the vicinity of Yorktown, the regiment embarked on board the steamer "Vanderbilt," weighed anchor, and proceeded down the river towards Chesapeake Bay. Just at the mouth of the river, the vessel ran aground, and stuck fast all night, despite every exertion made to get her off. The next morning she floated again, and the trip was resumed. As it was not possible to accommodate the regimental teams and horses of the field and staff upon the steamer, they were sent down, in charge of wagon-masters and officers' servants, to Fortress Monroe, thence to be shipped on board schooners and other craft to Alexandria. As they did not arrive at the latter place till after the regiment had been ordered away, the officers were obliged to go without their usual changes of apparel ; and those who had been accustomed to ride were afforded an undesired opportunity of learning how much better it was to walk.

The passage up the Potomac was not varied by any incident worthy special mention ; and on Sunday, the 24th, Alexandria was reached, the regiment disembarked, marched through the city, and encamped for the night near Fort Ellsworth, about four miles out. Here were met an immense number of troops belonging to the various divisions and corps of Gen. McClellan's army, who were being hurried up in the direction of the Rappahannock as fast as possible ; and here it

was first ascertained that Gen. Pope was falling back, with Gen. Lee in his front, and that there was a likelihood of a great battle being fought any day.

Just before sundown, on the 25th, the regiment took the cars, and was carried up to Warrenton Junction, a distance of forty-one miles from Alexandria. The enemy were so near, that they attacked and burned the very train which brought the First to the scene of action, as it was going back empty; and the next day attacked another train which was coming up full, wounding several, disabling the engine, and capturing a few prisoners.

The streams at this time were very much swollen by recent rains, preventing the passage of the rebel infantry, artillery, and wagon-trains; and to this fact is owing the achievement of a junction between the Army of Virginia and the Army of the Potomac, before Lee could make his grand assault.

Just before the regiment left Harrison's Landing, the following promotions and appointments were officially announced:—

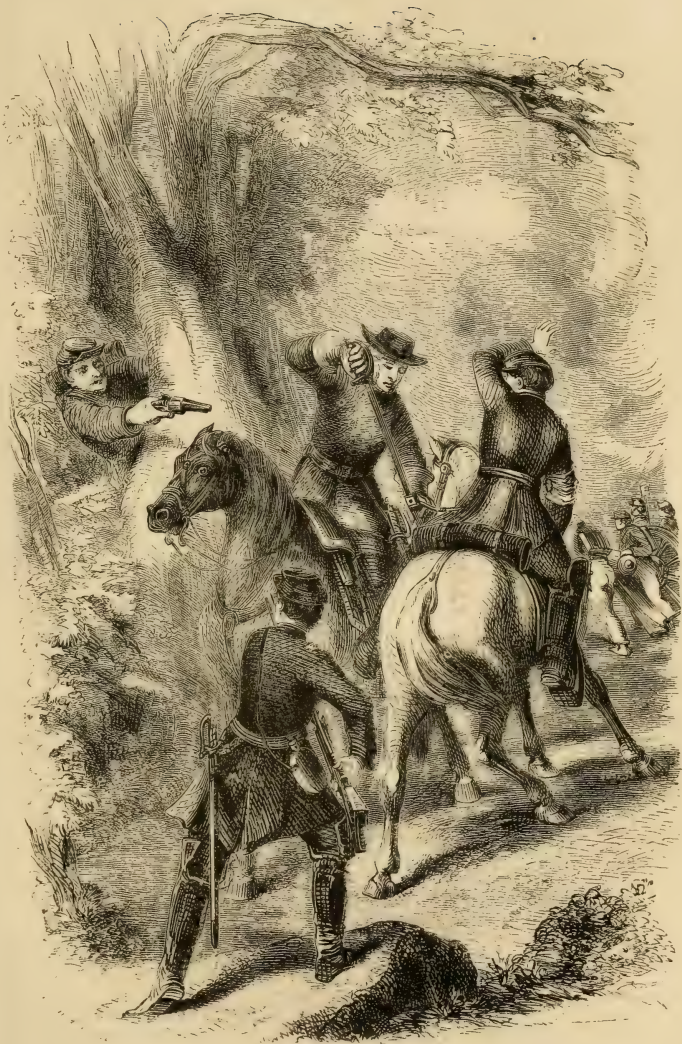
Capt. Clark B. Baldwin, Company E, was made lieutenant-colonel.

Capt. Sumner Carruth, Company H, was made major. This meritorious officer was subsequently promoted to be lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts, and finally brevetted brigadier-general for gallantry in action.

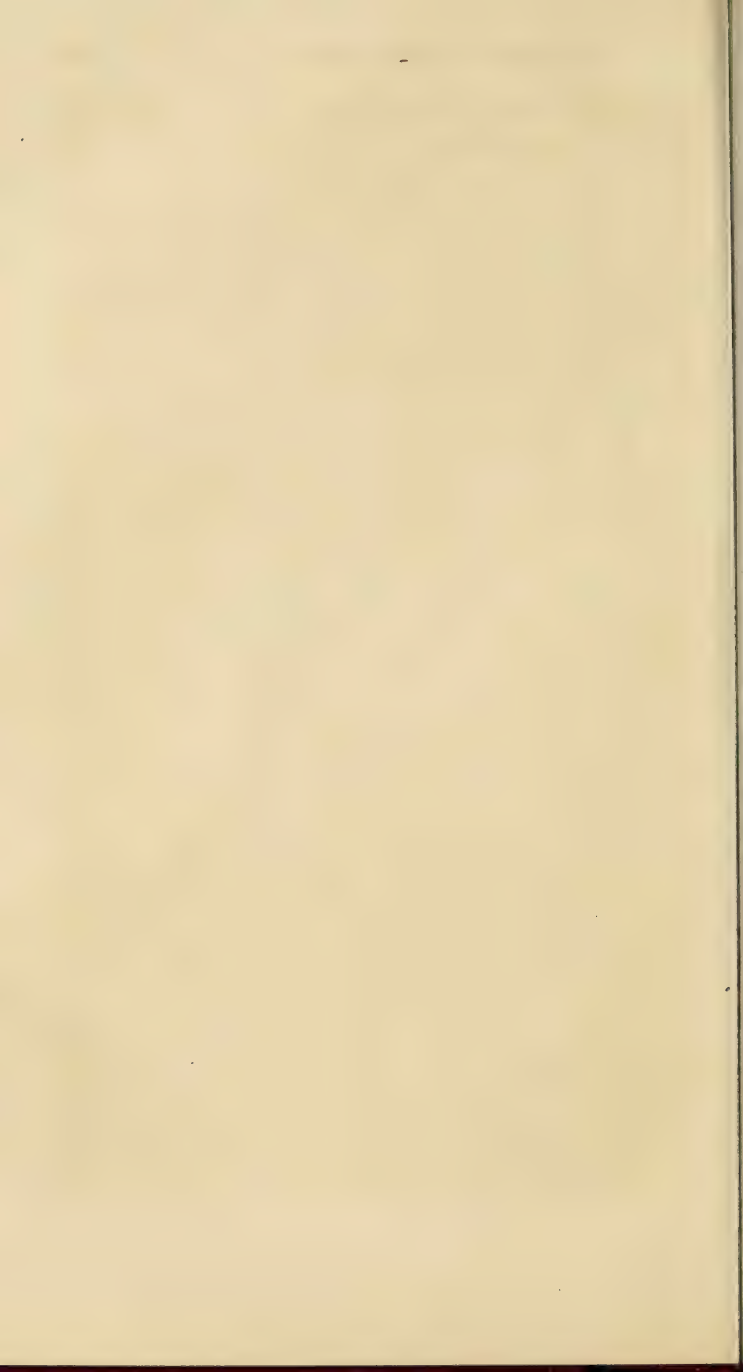
First Lieut. George E. Henry was made captain of Company F; First Lieut. Francis W. Carruth was made captain of Company K; First Lieut. William C. Johnston was made captain of Company E; First Lieut. Charles L. Chandler was made captain of Com-

pany A ; First Lieut. Horatio Roberts was made captain of Company H. Second Lieut. John McDonough was made first lieutenant of Company G ; Second Lieut. F. A. Pelby was made first lieutenant of Company I ; Second Lieut. Henry Parkinson was made first lieutenant of Company B ; Second Lieut. M. H. Warren was made first lieutenant of Company C ; Second Lieut. Henry Hartley was made first lieutenant of Company F ; Sergeant John S. Mandeville was made first lieutenant of Company K ; Acting Sergeant-Major George W. Harris was made second lieutenant of Company I ; Sergeant S. K. Morris was made second lieutenant of Company B ; Ordnance-Sergeant John S. Willey was made second lieutenant of Company D ; Sergeant John S. Clark was made second lieutenant of Company D ; Sergeant George L. Lawrence was made second lieutenant of Company G ; Sergeant Nathaniel Averill was made second lieutenant of Company K ; Corporal William C. Manning was made sergeant-major, and Sergeant James G. Miller quartermaster's sergeant.





IN THE WOODS AT THE SECOND BULL RUN





CHAPTER X.

BRISTOW STATION, SECOND BULL RUN, AND CHANTILLY.

“Shoulder to shoulder stand the brother bands,
Brave hearts and tender, with undaunted eye;
With manly patience ready to endure;
With gallant daring resolute to die.

They know not fear; for what have they to fear
Who *all* have counted, and have *all* resigned,
And laid their lives a solemn offering down
For laws, for truth, for freedom, for mankind? ”

MRS. H. B. STOWE.

THE Orange and Alexandria Railroad, by which Gen. Pope received his supplies, was the object aimed at by Gen. Lee. The stations on this road were the Springfield Station, nine miles distant from Alexandria; Burke's Station, fourteen; Fairfax, eighteen; Union Mills, twenty-three; Manassas Junction, twenty-seven; Bristow Station, thirty-one; Catlett's, thirty-eight; Warrenton Junction, forty-one; Bealton, forty-seven; Rappahannock, fifty-one; Brandy Station, fifty-six; Culpepper, sixty-two; and Mitchell's, sixty-nine.

Friday night, the 22d, Gen. Stuart, of the rebel cavalry, made a daring raid upon Catlett's Station, which contributed not a little towards compelling Gen. Pope to move to the rear. Considering Catlett's a safe position, a large number of wagons were parked there, including those filled with the personal baggage of Gen.

Pope himself, and that of his staff. At midnight, the bold raider appeared, scattered the few guards from a Pennsylvania regiment and the Purnell Legion of Maryland, who disputed his will; set fire to the trains, which, however, a drenching rain speedily extinguished; took all the sick out of the hospital, and mounted them on two hundred horses he had stolen from Gen. Pope's train; and then deliberately helped himself to all the personal baggage of Gen. Pope and staff, and made off.

A series of manœuvres were now executed by the two armies; the design of Gen. Lee being to reach the Union rear, and cut in between the Union forces and Washington; that of Gen. Pope to fall back, without disorder or panic, and hold the rebels in front or flank.

Bridges which had been destroyed across rivers by the Federal rear were reconstructed by the rebel advance; fords of creeks and runs which were guarded in strong force by cavalry and artillery were assaulted, taken, regained, and held; roads barricaded by trees were cleared, used for a time, lost, and barricaded again. For seven days, Gen. Lee exhausted the resources of strategy and generalship, trying to penetrate the Union front, or outflank the left wing. Up the north fork of the Rappahannock, and down again, his forces roved, making here and there an experimental crossing to effect a lodgement on the left bank, only to get severely handled, and driven back again.

Provided he could be held in this manner until the Army of the Potomac came up from Alexandria, and Gen. Burnside's forces arrived, after evacuating Fredericksburg and Aquia Creek, Washington was safe;

otherwise it was in danger. Every thing hinged upon this uncertainty.

At one time, it seemed as though every thing would be lost on account of it, because the forces of Gen. Lee were so numerous, that he could spare twenty thousand men to operate on either flank of the Union army, while he still pressed down upon the front; and, pursuing this course, he had already begun to turn Gen. Pope's right in the direction of Manassas, before the divisions of the Army of the Potomac, which he had ordered to rendezvous there, had arrived, and while he was still encamped at Warrenton and Warrenton Junction. Fearing that he might be cut off in spite of all that he could do, he hastily abandoned the vicinity of Warrenton, and was falling back in three columns towards Manassas, when he encountered Gen. Heintzelman's corps coming up from Alexandria without artillery, wagons, or horses for the field and general officers, but with ten thousand as good men as ever loaded a rifle or fixed a bayonet. At the same time, one division of Gen. Porter's corps arrived at Bealton Station, eleven miles south of Warrenton Junction, and another division reached Kelley's Ford, on the Rappahannock River, within supporting distance of the First; both divisions having marched day and night from Fredericksburg, so that the men were completely prostrated with fatigue. If these could not be called fresh troops in such a crippled and exhausted condition, their arrival was, at the same time, a relief and an embarrassment to Gen. Pope, because he hardly knew whether to send them back to drive Stonewall Jackson from Manassas Junction, or to retain them at the front to withstand the advance of Gen. Lee. It

was a situation of great perplexity, from which, however, he was speedily relieved by the activity of the rebel raiders. An immense amount of stores, supplies, and baggage, was gathered at this time at Manassas Junction, and all along the line of the railroad as far up as Warrenton. The rebels were determined to have this, or to insure its destruction. They carried out this determination with complete success.

The First Regiment having arrived at Warrenton Junction, in company with the rest of Gen. Grover's brigade, on the night of the 25th, encamped close by the railroad until morning, and then withdrew into a pleasant field on the left, where, with an abundance of straw from neighboring wheat-stacks, good springs of clear water, and admirable facilities for washing and bathing in Cedar Creek, that ran alongside the camp, the soldiers promised themselves a season of respite from the fatigue and turmoil of fighting. But it was not to be. The luxury of sleep was rudely broken before daylight on the morning of the 27th, and every man ordered to fall in, with three days' rations and forty rounds of ammunition, for an immediate start. Most of the tents were left behind, and all the officers' baggage, to be packed into cars at the leisure of the quartermaster's sergeant. Hospital stores, including surgeons' amputating-cases, commissary supplies, muskets, and other material, were to be disposed of in a similar manner. Gen. Hooker's entire division was on the move thus early to prevent Stonewall Jackson from getting across Gen. Pope's line of retreat. During the night previous, two bridges on the railroad had been injured or destroyed, leaving enormous trains above them on the track, entirely cut off from connection with

Washington. Unless these bridges could be rebuilt, and the rebels driven back, not only must hundreds of double cars, loaded with public property, and several valuable locomotives, be abandoned or destroyed, but the personal baggage of over a thousand officers must share the same fate.

The division marched down the railroad, past Warrenton Junction to Catlett's, without meeting the enemy, and continued cautiously to feel its way towards Bristow, seven miles beyond. The heat of the day was most oppressive; and the men, having been marched ten miles at a rapid rate, were completely out of breath, when, just as they emerged in line of battle upon an open plain, skirted by a thick growth of young pines, in the neighborhood of Bristow Station, the enemy opened upon them with artillery, and at once checked their advance. Skirmishers were deployed immediately ahead of the column, led by the New-Jersey and Excelsior brigades; and an assault ordered in force. It was most gallantly made. The rebels, under cover, greeted our advance with a galling fire, before which many a brave fellow was stricken to the earth. Their artillery held on until the cannoneers were shot from the guns so rapidly, that it became certain destruction to attempt to load them; and then they were limbered up and drawn away. The infantry supports in their rear speedily followed, and the Union skirmishers pursued, completely clearing the position they had held, and occupying it themselves. The severe fighting lasted less than two hours, and was succeeded by the scattered and irregular fire of the skirmishers, which continued until dark.

The main body of the rebels, under Stonewall Jack-

son at this time, was at Manassas, where, on the previous evening, they had captured a depot of supplies, burned an immense quantity, and carried away enough to last their entire forces during the subsequent foray into Maryland. Gen. Pope had calculated that the Army of the Potomac would have arrived from Alexandria in season to prevent this; but Stonewall Jackson was too quick, or Gen. McClellan was too slow; and his calculations failed. The amount of stores taken may be judged from the report made afterwards by Gen. Lee, that they captured so much more than they could use or carry away, that vast quantities were burned. The forces of Gen. Lee numbered at least one hundred thousand men, capable of appropriating a prodigious amount of plunder.

At Bristow Station, the troops engaged were only a portion of Stonewall Jackson's column under Gen. Ewell; and, as Jackson himself was in a very difficult and dangerous situation, it was no part of his policy to scatter his men, while the enemy were about. Gen. Ewell, therefore, immediately fell back, leaving all his dead and wounded, amounting to three hundred men, in the hands of Gen. Hooker's division, and most of his camp equipage just as it had been used a few hours before by his own soldiers. Rebel cattle were lying slaughtered on the plain, all ready to be cut up into rations of fresh meat; rebel fires were burning brightly, baking bread, boiling vegetables, and frying pork; and rebel knapsacks, haversacks, and blankets were found where they had been deposited for safe-keeping, when the line was formed hastily at noon to repel Gen. Hooker's assault.

Of forty rounds of cartridges distributed at the com-

mencement of this fight among the Union troops, but five remained when it was over, and more it was impossible to get then, as every thing had been left with the wagons at Warrenton Junction, when the division hurried away in the morning. Gen. Morrell, therefore, was directed to march to the relief of Gen. Hooker's division; and orders were communicated to Gen. Banks to bring his corps, with all the trains, artillery, and public property which could be removed, to this side of Cedar Creek, destroying the rest, and holding the fords. Trains of cars were accordingly hurried down the road, loaded at the various camping stations, and drawn to the rear. Muskets were pitched into wells and brooks, or broken to pieces over stone walls. Quartermasters' and commissary stores were gathered into vacant houses or barns, and set fire to. Valuable hospital-supplies, including books, surgical instruments, and costly medicines, were thus disposed of, and every thing else removed.

There was nothing now left for Stonewall Jackson to do but to retreat. Only one line was open to him, and he could hardly pursue that without the capture of a large part, if not the whole of his army, unless re-enforced by Gen. Lee. Gainesville, on the road to Thoroughfare Gap, was held in force by Gens. Reynolds, Siegel, and McDowell. Centreville, in his rear, was in the direct line of march taken by all of Gen. Pope's troops, and soon to be the rendezvous of whatever fresh divisions might be sent up from Alexandria. The road to Centreville he took, however, and his rear guard left the place on the 28th, just as the advance of Gen. Heintzelman's corps entered it. Pushing on with the utmost despatch, he met Gen. Reno in one

direction, and Gen. Porter in another. Backward, forward, and on both sides, the way seemed closing up against him, and in another day his entire command would have been surrounded and captured; but, as Providence had ordered it, during the night of the 28th, Gen. Ricket, who held Thoroughfare Gap, in the Bull Run Mountains, withdrew his division, so as not to be assaulted in rear and flank by Gen. Lee, and in front by Gen. Longstreet, and thus allowed Longstreet to bring his forces through the Gap to the relief of Jackson. Had this Gap been held, as it should have been, the surrender or capture of Jackson and all his forces must have been inevitable. This would greatly have weakened and disheartened the rebels, and so strengthened and inspirited our troops, that the offensive might have been resumed at once. The Gap once abandoned to the rebels, was improved by them to the utmost. On the road to it the advance of Gen. Jackson encountered Gen. King's Union division, and, after a sanguinary engagement, during which there was great loss of life on both sides, compelled it to retire, leaving the way open for Longstreet to effect the desired junction with himself. For twenty-four hours subsequently the rebels were thronging through the Gap, and Jackson rested his wearied men preparatory to another assault upon our position.

On both sides the condition of things was now entirely changed. Stonewall Jackson had troops enough not only to hold his own, but to resume the offensive again at the first favorable opportunity, while Gen. Lee, having parted with Longstreet, and so far weakened his columns, was made more wary and cautious in his approaches. Gen. Pope continued to fall

back, but without the least precipitation, inasmuch as having now effected a junction with most of the Army of the Potomac, he felt fully equal to the risk of a pitched battle, even with the whole of Gen. Lee's force.

The only drawback among the Union soldiers was the lack of rations and forage. Of these the enemy had captured and destroyed such a large quantity that there was not a corps, division, or brigade which did not seriously feel the scarcity. Green apples were growing on the trees, and green corn standing in the fields. To these hundreds of men helped themselves, and upon them subsisted two or three days, not able to obtain any thing better. Such provender added neither to their strength nor confidence, however, and about this time became manifest a decided inclination to fall back into the defences of Washington.

Various causes led to this. There was a growing distrust in the ability of Gen. Pope to oversee and control the movements of so large a body of men as had been placed under his command, scattered about as they then were, and to cope successfully with such able antagonists as Lee, Jackson, Longstreet, and Ewell. Throughout the Army of the Potomac, the semi-removal of McClellan had likewise occasioned a feeling of disaffection, which prevented the men from doing their duty with the enthusiasm and alacrity for which they had been distinguished, and so made matters worse. Among the Union generals, at the same time, there was very little unity of feeling. They did not coöperate promptly, nor act on all occasions harmoniously. Most unfortunately, too, Gen. McClellan did not come up in person with his army, feeling,

doubtless, that Gen. Pope would prefer to manage its several corps separately, than to dispose of it through him as a whole. No one can wonder at Gen. McClellan's feelings at such a time, and after such experiences as he had just passed through ; but their indulgence, under the circumstances, was a serious detriment to the national weal, and, if a criticism may be allowed, would have been sacrificed with more credit and honor to himself than accrued from their manifestation. The Army of the Potomac, if the fact must be stated, felt broken up when it left Alexandria, in isolated corps, divisions, and brigades, without any general officer ; and it felt only a little more so when it was driven back, a few days afterwards, upon the defences of Washington, with the loss of Kearney, Stevens, and many of its choicest officers and men. As if to make defeat a certainty, there was an unusual amount of blundering, confusion, and uncertainty, which in great armies always exist in a greater or less degree, and which in this instance seem to have been unavoidable and almost continual.

The First Regiment, with the rest of Gen. Grover's brigade, remained at Bristow Station during most of the day of Thursday the 28th, watching the columns of Gen. Pope's army, as they marched by them in the direction of Centreville, ransacking such abandoned camps and habitations as were within reach, principally for food ; and at three o'clock took up the line of march towards Manassas Junction. The Bull-Run battlefield was reached before dark ; and the mounds of the departed, — mostly without head-boards, — pieces of shells, old caps, shreds of clothing, and scraps of leather lying about, awakened a melancholy interest among

most of the men, who, thirteen months and one week before, had trodden the same ground in conflict with the same haughty and insolent foe.

Notwithstanding a smart shower which had fallen during the afternoon, portions of the dried grass and weeds which covered the battle-field were burning briskly, sending up dense clouds of smoke to the heavens; and the thunder of a distant cannonade in the direction of Gainesville, on the Warrenton Turnpike, betokened a sharp engagement with the enemy. The troops here rested on their arms until two o'clock next morning, when they were called up, and marched rapidly in the direction of Centreville. Arriving at Centreville, they were halted upon the slope of a hill, facing Thoroughfare Gap, until a day's rations were served out; and at nine o'clock they were moved forward in the direction of Gainesville, where a battle was then raging between a portion of the rebel army and Gens. Siegel's and Reynolds' divisions on the west. It was Gen. Pope's plan to attack Longstreet and Jackson simultaneously on three sides,—through Hooker, Kearney, and Reno on the east, Porter and King on the south, and McDowell and Siegel on the west. The latter generals commenced fighting early in the morning, and continued their efforts all day. Gen. Hooker brought his forces along at noon. The brigade of Gen. Grover supported a battery until the middle of the afternoon, when, the gunners having been driven from their position, the infantry advanced to force the enemy out of the woods in front of them. Very few men were visible, although bullets were flying about by hundreds. Upon receiving an order to charge, Gen. Grover very naturally asked, "Charge where?"

“Charge into the woods!” was the response. “But who is to support me?” he again asked. “Your supports are close by,” was responded. The general thought it was as well to wait, at least until they came in sight; but he received another peremptory order to charge without delay, and reluctantly issued the command to fix bayonets, feeling assured that he was leading his men only to slaughter and repulse. Without artillery and without supports, the men advanced towards the wood. They were greeted by a furious discharge of musketry, which arrested their steps and broke their ranks at the commencement. They at once closed up, and pressed forward towards the enemy’s line, returning volley for volley, taking advantage of every tree behind which a man’s body could be hidden, and creeping from tree to tree under cover of the thick underbrush which constantly separated the men, and mingled companies and even regiments together, until they came so near the rebels, and poured in upon them a fire so rapid and deadly, that they took to flight, falling back upon a second line. To this, in the absence of any orders to the contrary, they were at once pursued, in the face of volleys which sent a perfect storm of lead cutting through their ranks, across the prostrate forms of killed and wounded, who fell by scores at every discharge, and amid an avalanche of branches cut from the trees by flying shot. Having advanced a few thousand feet, and finding that the enemy were inclined to yield the ground, it stirred the blood of the men, and made them determined that they should yield it at any rate. At this time, the advance of our men was firm and regular, while the forces of the rebels were scattered throughout the woods into

disorganized gangs and clusters. The Union officers, with conspicuous gallantry, waved their caps and swords in the direction of the flying foe ; while the troops cheered themselves hoarse as they followed, loading and firing as they went. They had thus passed beyond the confines of the forest, and reached a railroad bank skirting its edges, when from the rear of the embankment rose at least twice their number of the enemy, comprising a third line which had not been engaged ; and, at a distance of only two hundred feet, they poured a tremendous volley into our lines, just as they appeared above the level of the bank. The effect was terrible. Men dropped in scores, writhing and trying to crawl back, or lying immovable and stone-dead where they fell. The fire was returned with the utmost vigor and celerity ; but an hour's hard fighting and running had wearied our soldiers. The rebels were fresh : they had the advantage of position. They took aim at Gen. Grover as he sat on his horse, waving his cap upon the point of his sword. He was dismounted ; and his horse severely wounded plunged off in the direction of the rebels. The Union line now began to waver. It had no artillery and no supports.

The enemy saw their advantage, and hastened to improve it. They advanced with yells and shouts towards the railroad bank ; and the Union forces sullenly fell back into the forest again. Through this they continued to retire, until they had reached their former ground on the other side. Believing them to be in full retreat, the rebels were just emerging from the trees to follow up their advantage to the end, when they received an artillery fire of canister and shell which scattered them like chaff before the wind, and drove every

remnant of their forces back into the woods whence they had come. For three hundred yards, the rattling balls searched nook and lurking-place, where, out of sight, sharp-shooter or skirmisher might be posted; and completely silenced every hostile gun. Gen. Kearney's division assaulted the enemy's left towards Sudley Springs successfully, and drove them back fully a mile before dark. Gen. Porter held them in check along the Manassas Railroad towards Gainesville, and thus, on the whole the day ended advantageously to the Union forces. Both parties slept on the ground where they fought, and both received numerous reënforcements during the night. Most of the succeeding day was spent in manœuvres, during which Gen. Grover's brigade was moved from one part of the field to another, — now supporting a battery that was playing upon some distant position in the enemy's front, — now standing in line to fill a gap occasioned by the looseness with which the troops were disposed and handled. In the order of battle, Gen. Heintzelman commanded the right, Porter and Sigel the centre, and McDowell the left. At three o'clock, Gen. Stevens began the assault; and at the same time the enemy's batteries were opened along the whole line. They fired not only shot and shell, spherical case and canister, but railroad iron, which had been cut up into lengths suitable for the purpose, and which whizzed through the air with a fearful sound as it flew towards the object at which it was aimed. Between four and five o'clock, the fire, not only of artillery, but of musketry, became general on both sides. A fierce assault was directed towards our right and centre, which gradually moved along until it was concentrated in all its fury upon our left.

The roll of the repeated volleys as they rose up from one side, and were quickly returned by the other, made one continuous, deafening crash ; while the thunder of contending cannon, and the bursting of numerous shells in all parts of the field, shook the ground with their tremendous detonations, and the accumulating volume of the rounds and volleys towards the left told all too plainly that there the enemy were endeavoring to break through. It was all in vain that supports and reënforcements were hurried to the weakened point: it had yielded before they arrived. For an hour, in a perfect tornado of deadly missiles, enveloped in smoke, and aiming at a foe whose proximity could only be known by the rattle of his musketry, the Union left, under McDowell, held its own. But then it broke. Wagoners, stragglers, and hangers-on about the hospital, first scented the defeat, and took up the double-quick. A second Bull-Run panic seemed inevitable. The right, however, held its place ; and Gen. Lee wisely forebore pursuit across an unbridged run, with darkness rapidly approaching, and an army seriously crippled with men wounded and worn out. The demoralization of the left compelled the right and centre to fall back, however ; which was done in good order, although all our dead and wounded were left in the hands of the enemy ; and three batteries, which had been foolishly pushed forward without proper infantry support had to be abandoned. For several days, bridge-builders had been at work on the line of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad day and night to repair the structures which the rebel raiders had set on fire and burned ; and in two or three places they had succeeded, and had removed long trains below Catlett's and Bris-

tow Stations before the battle of the 30th was fought. Failing, however, to finish their work before this occurred, it all proved vain ; and Gen. Banks was ordered to abandon the road, destroy the trains, and rejoin Gen. Pope at Centreville immediately. Two hundred cars loaded with clothing, equipments, officers' baggage, and supplies of every description, were accordingly fired ; an immense wagon-train was emptied of its contents, the animals detached, and the torch applied ; five locomotives were broken up and rendered useless ; a large quantity of fixed ammunition, ordnance-stores, and gunpowder, blown up, and the road left in rebel hands.

It was at this time that the people of the North, hearing of the complete destitution of the army in Virginia, poured forth so lavishly their contributions of money, lint, bandages, cordials, jellies, liquors, food, clothing, blankets, dressing-gowns, and, in fact, every thing conceivable, which could promote the comfort, or minister to the wants, of a wounded soldier.

Congregations that had gathered for the worship of God, on Sunday, the 31st of August, were dismissed with a few brief words of patriotic exhortation ; and in a short time ladies were busy amid piles of cloth, bundles and packages of offerings, cans of preserves, and rolls of goods ; gentlemen were packing and nailing up innumerable boxes, directed to the army ; and express-wagons were transporting them to the cars by the hundred. The sidewalks were so covered with them, that people were forced to the middle of the street to get along at all ; and they kept coming from all quarters, and in such profusion, that, before sundown on the 31st, twenty-one hundred had been despatched from the single city of Boston. It was so

throughout the country. Washington literally swarmed with persons seeking an opportunity to go out and alleviate the miseries of wounded soldiers, left without food, shelter, or help, upon the battle-field ; and some, who were incautious enough to venture beyond the Federal lines, were captured by the rebels, and held as prisoners of war until the rebel forces were well on their way towards Maryland.

During Sunday and Monday, Aug. 31, and Sept. 1, Gen. Pope drew his right wing back to the village of Germantown, and formed a line of battle upon the heights fronting the approaches to Fairfax Court House. He was closely pursued by the forces of Gen. Lee, who, late in the afternoon of the 1st instant, arrived at Chantilly, near the Little-River Turnpike, and vigorously assailed the division of Gen. Stevens, endeavoring to turn his left. Seeing his men hard pressed, Gen. Stevens exposed himself in trying to hold them firmly in their places, and was shot dead by a bullet through the head. His loss greatly disconcerted his command, and they began to fall back. Just then the division of Gen. Kearney came up, and formed on the ground Gen. Stevens's soldiers had yielded. The fighting had taken place during a violent thunder-storm, the rain falling in torrents, lightning flashing over the combatants, and peals of thunder reverberating through the woods, rising sometimes above the roar of battle. Darkness had come with the storm ; and, as the enemy continued to press on, their numbers and situation were revealed only by the reports or flashes of their guns. Not knowing the nature of the country, Gen. Kearney ventured beyond his lines to reconnoitre a little before he led out his

men, and was shot through the heart. As he did not return, Gen. Birney commanded his men to fix bayonets, and charge. This they did with such spirit and impetuosity, that the enemy fell back, and left them undisputed masters of the field. All night long, the soldiers anxiously awaited Kearney's return. He did not come. Their worst forebodings were realized the next morning, when his dead body was brought in under a rebel flag of truce. It was a sight sad indeed to the soldiers of his division; for he was almost idolized by them, and many a one would willingly have died for him. No better soldier ever drew a blade upon the battle-field than Gen. Philip Kearney; and no man was more respected than he by the rebel chieftains, who knew him well, and had often partaken of his hospitalities before the war. Having lost one arm in the Mexican War, during a charge made at the San-Antonio Gate, upon a battery defending the city of Mexico, he was accustomed to go into battle with his sword or reins between his teeth; and was always to be found where the bullets were thickest, and the enemy most numerous and troublesome. It seemed as though his men could not believe him dead; and many a brave fellow wept tears of bitter sorrow as his loved remains were borne away to Washington for embalment and burial.

After the battle of Chantilly, which resulted favorably to the Union army, orders were received from Gen. Halleck to fall back within the defences of Washington, for the purpose of reorganizing the different corps; getting stragglers back into their places; supplying deficiencies of ammunition, clothing, &c.; and adding to the army such new regiments, recruits, and

convalescents as had arrived at the national capital. The retrograde movement accordingly began at once; and during the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September, the roads leading to Alexandria and the fortifications around Washington, were covered with the torn and shattered fragments of the armies of Virginia and the Potomac, who, for more than two weeks of bloody and almost uninterrupted conflict, had been fighting and falling back. The troops of New England, the Middle States, and the West, marched along side by side, not disheartened, nor feeling that they had been fairly beaten, but poorly led. When they came in sight of the unfinished dome of the Capitol, a shout arose, which spread from regiment to regiment throughout the entire army; and the determination was universally expressed to hold that, or die in its defence.

In company with four wounded men,—one shot through the body, another through the leg, another through the arm, and another suffering from a serious scalp wound inflicted by a shell,—the writer rode in an army-wagon from beyond Manassas Junction to Centreville, hoping to find cars there which would transport them, without jolting, to Alexandria or Washington. The wagon was without springs and the roads exceedingly rough; and although these men were placed on hay, and made as comfortable as possible, the jerks and lunges of the clumsy vehicle tossed them repeatedly out of their position, and made them suffer excruciatingly every foot of the way. It was only by repeatedly assuring them we should soon be there, that they were kept in any sort of spirits, and induced to exert themselves a little to prevent serious injury from the staggering of the wagon. Arrived at Centreville, we found

that the last train of cars had left, and orders had been sent back to have all sick and wounded forwarded to Fairfax Station, nine miles beyond. The prospect of a nine-mile ride, with a wagonful of wounded men, over such roads, was perfectly appalling; and they sent forth such a piteous chorus of groans and remonstrances, that the heart ached for them; but there was no help for it, and again we started. The road before and behind, as far as the eye could see, was lined with a procession of wagons and ambulances similarly laden; and from both directions our ears were continually pained by moans and cries extorted from the wretched sufferers by the jogs and gullies over which they were driven.

Several died from exhaustion and loss of blood before reaching their destination. It was far into the night before we reached Fairfax Station; and then, as if we were doomed to disappointment and misery, we were told that the railroad was unsafe, and no more trains would be allowed to pass over it while the enemy were about. Alexandria was eighteen miles farther on. Thither we must go. This was too much; and one poor fellow, only strong enough to expostulate, cried out, —

“I can’t do it. Let me get out!”

“But, my dear man, we must do it: the cars are stopped.”

“I can’t do it: it will kill me!”

“Oh! I guess not. Try and keep up.”

“I can’t keep up. It will kill me: I know it will kill me. Let me get out!”

“But there is no one here to take care of you.”

"I might as well die by the roadside as in this wagon."

"You will not be allowed to lie by the roadside ; for, in a few hours, the rebels will hold this ground, and make you a prisoner."

At this the driver started, and the wounded man exclaimed, —

"Hold on there ! hold on !"

"He cannot hold on ; for he has been ordered to carry you where you will be safe."

"Stop, driver, stop !"

"He has no right to stop."

"Stop, stop, for God's sake !"

"My dear fellow, do try and compose yourself ; and we will all do the best we can for you."

"I wish you had my head. I'd like to see you try and *compose* yourself."

"No doubt you are doing much better than I could ; but perhaps you might do better if you tried."

A groan was the only answer. So it was for the eighteen long and weary miles. The wagon lurched, rolled, and pitched about over the broken and uneven road, and at daybreak stopped before the Union Hotel hospital in Alexandria. A surgeon was speedily called out. We expected that he would make immediate arrangements to accomodate the men ; but he held up both hands, and exclaimed, —

"Every room and every bed is full ; we have more than we can do. It is impossible to make a place for a single person more : you must drive on to Washington."

"*Nine miles more !*"

It was of no use to talk. One of the men would

get out, and he did get out. He swore he would not ride in that wagon another step. He would lie down on the sidewalk, in the street, anywhere, and die, if he must ; but be hauled to Washington, nine miles farther, he wouldn't. How he was ever gotten back to his place, it would be difficult to state ; but after expostulation, entreaty, coaxing, and some swearing, it was done, and the mules started towards the Federal capital. It was daylight now and the road was good. By eight o'clock we entered the city. It seemed to be one vast hospital. The streets were filled with army-wagons, ambulances, and even hacks and private carriages, pressed into the service to bring in the wounded from the front ; and the people seemed to be unwearied in their generous ministrations for the relief of their wants. They came out of the houses, lining the way, holding in their hands cups of tea and coffee, food, fruit, basins of water and towels, cordials, jellies, and preserves ; and apparently could not do enough for the brave men who had been battling to preserve their homes from the spoiler. In a short time, we halted before a hospital, where our wounded men could be received ; and, as expeditiously as possible, the poor fellows, worn out, bleeding and half dead, were borne into the building, having suffered more during their ride of over twenty-four hours, than they would in a dozen battles.

The following list of killed, wounded, and missing, at the second battle of Bull Run and at that of Chantilly, is made up from the muster-out rolls, as found in the State House : —

Company A : Killed, John Martin. Wounded, Sergeant John H. Miner, Corporal Edward S. Daniels,

William Abrams, William Emerson, Charles H. Harper, Benjamin F. Pierce.

Company B: Killed, Alvah Bicknell, George E. Smith, Thomas L. Glover. Wounded, Capt. George E. Henry, Lieut. Horatio Roberts, Sergeant Edwin S. Brown, Corporal Ferrier N. Christian, Luke E. Jenkins, Charles F. Morgan, Charles H. Brown.

Company C: Killed, Bernard Blessington. Wounded, Sergeant John S. Clark, Thomas Gallagher.

Company D: Killed, Hugh Calhum. Wounded, Corporal Frank F. Palmer, Corporal Zachariah L. Barton, Gideon Blasland, William Claffey, Levi Estes, George H. Butler.

Company E: Wounded, Lieut. Nathaniel Averill, Joseph H. Pierce, James Ryan.

Company F: Killed, William Norris, William F. Houston, Elisha H. Fogg, Charles H. Marston. Wounded, Sergeant Clifton F. Kendall, Joseph H. Caldwell, Orin Fogg (subsequently died), Joseph W. Norwood.

Company G: Wounded, Alphonzo Fisher.

Company H: Killed, Lieut. John M. Mandeville, Samuel C. Heald. Wounded, Corporal Thomas H. Bigelow, Henry Mason, William H. Luke (subsequently died), Joseph H. Bigelow (subsequently died), Martin G. Tewksbury, Charles S. Everdean, William McConnell, Isaac Alston, William J. Dinsmore (subsequently died), Henry A. Pierce, George H. Green. Missing, Lawrence H. Kelley, John A. Luke.

Company I: Killed, Lieut. George W. Harris. Wounded, Corporal Luther M. Bent (subsequently died), Sergeant James Finney, Franz Singer (subsequently died), George A. Payne, William R. Gracie,

Caleb Houston, Cornelius E. Kennedy, George F. Marden.

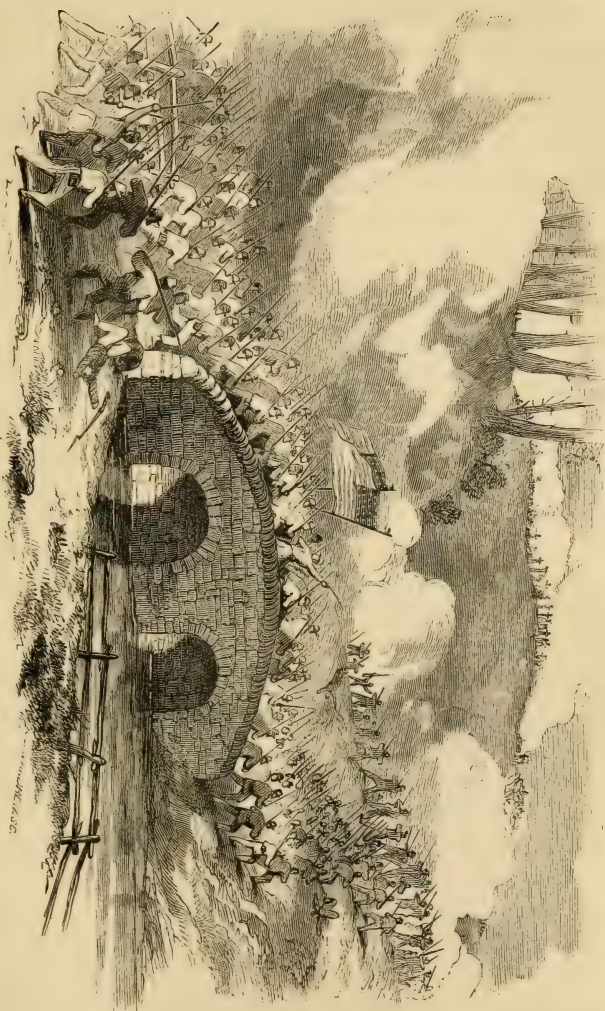
Company K : Killed, Richard McNally. Wounded, Hiram H. Chubbuck, Frank Hutchins, Charles M. Raymond.

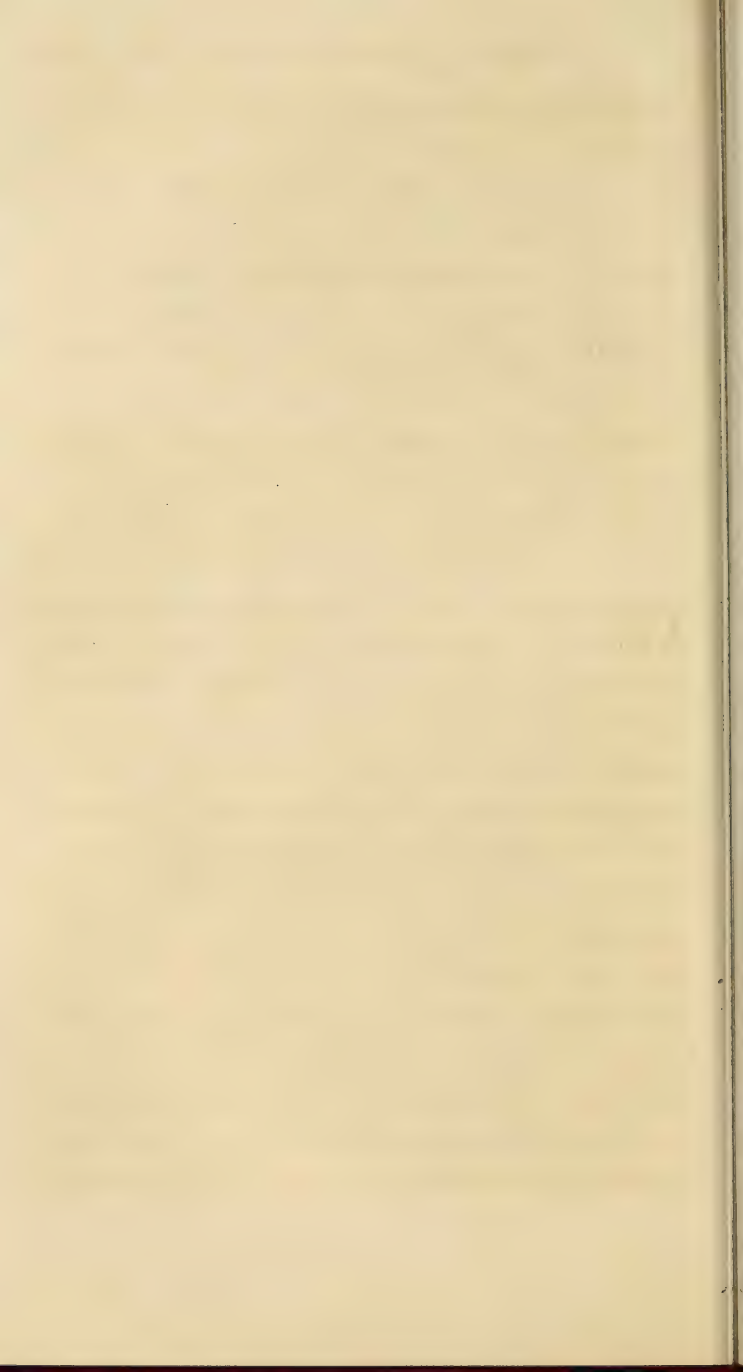
Names additional to the above were published in the papers subsequent to the battles, without company designations. They were privates Baxter, Chancellor, Currier, Pierce, Goode, and Kelly.

Recapitulation: Killed, and subsequently died, twenty. Wounded, fifty-one. Missing, two.



FIGHT FOR THE BRIDGE OVER ANTIETAM CREEK.







CHAPTER XI.

CAMPS AT ALEXANDRIA SEMINARY, FAIRFAX COURT HOUSE, AND FAIRFAX STATION.

“ When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad Earth’s aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west;
And the slave, where’er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
Of a century bursts full blossomed on the thorny stem of Time.”

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

GEN. POPE’S return to Washington and Alexandria left the army of Gen. Lee free to besiege the Union capital, or to make a foray into Maryland, which had been one of the objects contemplated when he left Richmond in the beginning of August. Fearing the result of an assault upon the Washington defences, especially as Gen. Pope had been relieved, and Gen. McClellan again placed in command of all the forces operating in Virginia, and of all troops holding the forts and earthworks round the city, the rebel leader moved away from Centreville, in the direction of Leesburg, on the 1st of September, and crossed the Potomac, without opposition, at Noland’s Ford, five miles below Point of Rocks, on the 5th. He, his generals, officers, and men, expected great results to accrue from the invasion of Maryland; that the people would everywhere welcome and coöperate with him; that they would render him all needed material aid; and that the able-

bodied men of the State would crowd to his standard in such numbers as to enable him to assault Baltimore and Washington in the rear, and perhaps extend his conquests as far as Philadelphia. Accordingly, having entered Maryland, Gen. Lee marched immediately upon Frederick, the capital of the State, distant forty-four miles north-west of Washington, and sixty miles due west from Baltimore. The city contained nearly nine thousand inhabitants, and was garrisoned by only one company of United-States regulars. Resistance was impossible; and the Federal provost-marshal, after removing all the military-stores he could get away, burned the remainder, and left, in company with a large number of the most wealthy and influential citizens of the place. The next morning it was occupied by the rebels in force. They were in a destitute and suffering condition, but manifested scrupulous respect for private property; and paid for all they took to subsist upon, in rebel money or greenbacks, whichever the seller preferred.

On the 8th of September, Gen. Lee issued a proclamation to the people of Maryland, maintaining that he had come among them as a deliverer, denouncing the action of the United States, and urging them to rally to the rescue of their State from the bondage of the oppressor. At the same time, he opened recruiting offices, helped himself to droves of sheep, cattle, hogs, and horses from the neighboring farmers, for which he paid the prices usually asked; and protested that he was a friend, not an enemy, and intended to restore to the citizens of Maryland their ancient sovereignty and independence. Somehow he failed to make out a case. His address read well, he himself spoke well and acted well,

and everywhere his troops behaved admirably ; but the people did not respond. Very few volunteers were obtained from his recruiting offices, very little material support from wealthy and influential friends, and very little enthusiasm was awakened among the professed adherents of the rebel cause. He saw, and his officers and men saw, that they had made a great, perhaps a fatal, mistake. Nevertheless something had to be attempted ; and orders were issued looking to the abandonment of Maryland, the capture of Harper's Ferry, and the invasion of Pennsylvania. Before they could be carried out, the advance of the Union army entered Frederick under command of Gen. McClellan, just as the rear-guard of the rebels had evacuated it. This compelled a total change in the proposed plan of operations. The rebels, retiring towards Hagerstown, were brought to a stand on South Mountain, and on Sunday, Sept. 14, assaulted by Gens. Hooker, Burnside, Reno, and Franklin, in force. The battle commenced early in the morning, and raged until late in the afternoon. The rebels fought desperately for the positions which they had chosen ; but the Union forces fought more desperately to obtain them, and they succeeded. Before dark, several bayonet-charges threw the enemy into great confusion ; so that they abandoned the gaps, scattered through the woods, and finally gave up the conflict along the whole line. The Union loss in killed and wounded amounted to nearly three thousand, including the gallant Gen. Reno, who was shot through the body, on the left of Turner's Gap. The rebel loss has never been stated, but was large. Several hundred prisoners, three regimental flags, two pieces of artillery, and three thousand stand of arms, were captured.

A successful assault was the next day made upon Harper's Ferry by Stonewall Jackson, which, owing to the imbecility, treason, or cowardice of the colonel in command, was surrendered, with eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-three officers and men, prisoners, forty-five pieces of artillery, and a large supply of ammunition and stores, spoils of war. The rebels were so hard pressed, however, that they immediately paroled all their prisoners, abandoned the captured town, and concentrated their forces on a semicircular amphitheatre of hills bordering the River Antietam.

At daylight on Wednesday, the 17th, they were attacked; and a sanguinary battle ensued, which lasted all day, resulting in substantial and decided success for the Union arms. Over thirty colors, thirteen guns, seven caissons, nine limbers, fifteen thousand small-arms, and five thousand prisoners were captured, and seventeen thousand of the enemy placed *hors de combat*, with a loss to the Federal forces of only eleven thousand four hundred and twenty-six killed and wounded, and not a single gun or color. It was now the policy of Gen. Lee to get out of harm's way as speedily as possible. Had he been vigorously assaulted on the 18th, no doubt most of his shattered and exhausted forces might have been captured; but the golden opportunity slipped by unimproved, and during the night of that day he fled precipitately across the Potomac, having remained in Maryland just a fortnight, and lost in killed, wounded, and missing, fully thirty thousand men. The grand idea of invading Maryland and Pennsylvania, of releasing the former State with Kentucky and Tennessee from political despotism, of capturing Washington and Baltimore,

and perchance Philadelphia, with which he had left Richmond less than fifty days before, had utterly failed of realization. With diminished ranks and a disappointed spirit, he had been forced back upon the soil of Virginia once more, and must henceforth give up the aggressive, and resort to the defensive, or be entirely destroyed.

After the battle of Chantilly, Gen. Pope's army continued to fall back on Washington, taking such roads as would secure the desired object most expeditiously, and at the same time prevent the enemy from making a successful assault in the rear.

Gen. Hooker's division moved before daylight, Tuesday morning, Sept. 2, to Fairfax Court House, where soft bread, and such other rations as had been brought up from Alexandria, were served out to the men; and the march continued to Fairfax Station, on the line of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. At daybreak, on the 3d, the column was again in motion over an uneven, thickly wooded country, in the direction of the Potomac River; reaching Pohick Church at two o'clock in the afternoon, after a rapid tramp of about eight miles. Taking the river road near Mount Vernon, the march was continued till almost night, when Fort Lyon was reached, and the command went into bivouac upon an open plain to the rear and left, two miles from Alexandria. Had there been wood and water in convenient proximity to this camping-ground, it would have been retained; but, as this was not the case, the brigade of Gen. Grover took a new position the next day, three-quarters of a mile nearer the city, on the slope of a pleasant hill commanding

an extensive prospect in the direction of Alexandria and the Potomac.

Fort Lyon, in the vicinity, was a formidable earth-work, mounting twenty-six guns, with embrasures for several more ; and was one of the series of strong redoubts thrown up for the defence of the national capital soon after the assault upon Fort Sumter. During the afternoon of Sept. 5, a large number of recruits, who had been enlisted in Boston, especially for the First, by officers belonging to the regiment, arrived, and were duly entered upon the muster-rolls of the different companies. They had been marched about from place to place, searching for Gen. Hooker's division, until they had begun to think it never would be found. Soon after, the regimental horses and wagons were brought into camp, having been kept in Alexandria during the marching and fighting going on between Culpepper and Fairfax Court House.

A large number of visitors and friends from Washington, Boston, Roxbury, Chelsea, &c., continued to arrive day after day, including Mayors Wightman and Fay, Surgeon George H. Gay, of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and others, who brought with them a liberal quantity of the supplies furnished by the people of the Old Bay State for the wounded, sick, and unfortunate.

These things, at this time, were very acceptable, inasmuch as the men were destitute of every thing. Many of them had not changed nor washed their clothing since they left Harrison's Landing, six weeks before ; having been on the move, or held in expectation of a move, ever since. Some had no tents, others no blankets, and a few were nearly or quite barefoot.

Upon Gen. Pope's arrival in Washington, he was immediately relieved of his position ; and Gen. McClellan reinstated in his place. The latter had command, not only of all the forces stationed in the defences at Washington, but of all that remained of the Army of the Potomac, the Army of Virginia, and of large numbers of recruits, who now began to arrive in every train from the North. His attention was immediately called to the invasion of Maryland by Gen. Lee ; and, in the army gathered to repel that invasion, he selected Gen. Joseph Hooker for one of his corps commanders. At the expressed wish of the latter, his former division was allowed to remain in the defences of Washington for a few weeks, in order to rest, recruit, and be refitted for the field. This is the reason why the Massachusetts First Regiment was not at the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, in Maryland.

No sooner had the camp been established near Fort Lyon, than a company from each regiment in the brigade was sent out on picket. The division having been placed under the orders of Gen. Grover, Col. Cowdin was assigned to the brigade, and some staff officer was required to accompany the picket details every day, as the rebel cavalry were hovering about the outposts, intent on mischief.

Many of the inhabitants of Alexandria at this time were excessively alarmed, for fear that the whole, or a portion, of the rebel army, under Gen. Lee, would attack and bombard that city. In vain they were assured that such a thing was not to be thought of ; that the line of forts outside would prevent their approaching within cannon-shot of the buildings ; and, in case they became masters of the forts, that the gunboats

in the river would render Alexandria entirely untenable by them under any circumstances. Many seemed to have resolved that they would be frightened at any rate ; and frightened they were, frightened they remained, until they had packed up all their valuables, and moved out of the city. Some of them were professed secessionists, and others but lukewarm upholders of the Union ; so that they were not greatly missed. Meanwhile, all the churches of Alexandria, and the commodious residences of the runaways, were appropriated by the medical department, and transformed into hospitals. Some protests from rebel clergymen or influential members of rebel flocks were entered against this ; but they did not receive a moment's consideration, as the case was one of such pressing necessity as to admit neither of remonstrance nor debate.

Alexandria at this time had lost about half of its original Southern population, but had filled up so rapidly with a mixture of traders, Jews, sutlers, mechanics, soldiers, quartermasters', commissaries', and hospital assistants, that it had nearly doubled its former number of inhabitants. It was a place of considerable importance, and, until July 9, 1844, a portion of the District of Columbia. Being then re-ceded to the State of Virginia, it became, as before, the capital of Alexandria County, and the second city in size and commercial consequence in the Old Dominion. [Right opposite its wharves, the Potomac was a mile in width, forming a harbor capable of accommodating the largest men-of-war in the navy. Hundreds of steamboats and sailing craft rode at anchor here, or lay alongside the wharves, discharging their cargoes. Immense storehouses extended up into the city, filled with bags

of grain, bundles of hay, barrels of beef, pork, sugar, coffee, rice, and beans ; boxes of hard-bread, cases of clothing and accoutrements, bales of blankets, and accumulations of every kind of supplies. The city contained a court house, three banks, twelve churches, and several schools. It was paved, lighted with gas, and supplied with good water, introduced by the aid of machinery.

The principal streets were wide and clean, some of the public buildings spacious and imposing, and many of the private residences elegant. The Marshall House and an old slave-pen were places of great resort among the soldiers ; and hardly a man of them who could get a furlough but paid those two spots a visit.

From the 4th of September until the 13th, the regiment was kept in a constant state of expectation and uncertainty by rumors of moving. The orders came finally on the 13th ; and a change of position was made to an elevated plain, occupied in the centre by the Fairfax Theological Seminary, and extending in an easterly direction for more than a mile towards Washington. Upon it were several fine country residences, surrounded with gardens, orchards, and groves, which, having been abandoned by their former occupants, were taken possession of as hospitals or headquarters of brigade or division commanders. In some cases, houses were found to have been merely locked up when the army came, and nothing removed : in others, the furniture, carpets, &c., had been all taken away, and nothing left but naked floors and bare walls. Such property was generally appropriated to the use of the army in some way, as its abandonment seemed to indicate a spirit of hostility to the United-States authorities ; but,

where owners remained in possession of their estates, they were not molested, except for the utterance of disloyal sentiments. A few houses upon the outskirts were burned or torn down; but the great majority were left just as they were found.

It became the duty of soldiers allowed to remain in the defences of Washington, to make them as perfect as possible during the period of their stay there; and hence the regiments of Gen. Grover's division took turns in the excavation of rifle-pits and the construction of infantry covers, extending from fort to fort along the entire front of their position. They were also compelled to do regular picket-duty, so that abundant occupation was found for all the leisure time accruing from their detached and secure location.

The Fairfax Theological Seminary, comprising one large, central building of modern appearance, a chapel, and two or three other structures, had been made into a general hospital previous to our arrival, upon the grounds of which were pitched hundreds of hospital tents, which were succeeded by long, airy, and comfortable wooden edifices, capable of accommodating eighty or one hundred men each. A large corps of surgeons, nurses, and assistants, was detailed from various portions of the army, and enlisted for this special service; and hundreds of soldiers, sick and wounded, were brought from the field and from camps, making this one of the largest general hospitals in the country.

Deaths were very frequent, amounting to eight or more in a single day sometimes, and seldom to fewer than three, four, and five. The bodies, unless claimed by friends, were buried every afternoon close by the

camp of the First Regiment; and throughout the camp we were all made aware when the melancholy procession had started by the shrill notes of a single fife, invariably playing the old Spanish air known as "Portuguese Hymn," and the roll of a couple of muffled drums, beaten by convalescents detached for this purpose. The services at the grave were singing, reading the Scriptures, a prayer, an address, and the customary volleys in honor of the dead.

On the 8th of September, Capt. Clark B. Baldwin, of Company E, was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the First Regiment, and Capt. Gardner Walker, of Company C, major. They celebrated the reception of their commissions soon after, by a banquet in the officers' mess-tent, at which were present a large number of their personal friends attached to the first brigade. A great variety of good things covered the well-spread board, which were duly attended to in the order of their presentation, after which toasts and speeches closed the proceedings of the evening.

The rations supplied by Government at this time were unusually poor in quality and meagre in quantity. Had not the men received boxes from home, containing provisions and groceries, many of them must have suffered for the necessaries of life. Beside the regular amount of picket and fatigue duty in the trenches, the regiment was daily practised in rampart-firing at Fort Worth; and the soldiers needed the full ration of food allowed by the army regulations. Reveille sounded each morning at daybreak, immediately after which came a squad drill for the recruits. At eight o'clock occurred company drill, participated in by old members and recruits together. Battalion drill

followed dinner, at two o'clock. At half-past four came inspection; and at five, dress-parade.

In the month of September, the efforts which had been made for some time by the personal friends of Col. Robert Cowdin to have him appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, for gallantry in action, resulted successfully; and he received the following communication from the War Department: —

“WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, Sept. 26, 1862.

“SIR, — You are hereby informed that the President of the United States has appointed you, for distinguished conduct at the battle of Williamsburg, brigadier-general of volunteers in the service of the United States, to rank as such from the twenty-sixth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two. Should the Senate, at their next session, advise and consent thereto, you will be commissioned accordingly.

“Immediately on receipt hereof please to communicate to this department, through the adjutant-general of the army, your acceptance or non-acceptance, and with your letter of acceptance return the oath herewith enclosed, properly filled up, subscribed, and attested; and report your age, birthplace, and the State of which you were a permanent resident.

“You will report for duty to the general-in-chief, United-States army, in person, for orders.

“EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

“BRIG.-GEN. ROBERT COWDIN, *U. S. Volunteers.*”

Gen. Cowdin at once bade adieu to his old command, resigned the generalship of the first brigade into the hands of Gen. Joseph B. Carr, and reported

at Washington for orders. He was assigned soon after to the second brigade, Abercrombie's division, stationed in the vicinity of Upton's Hill, Va., with which he remained for six months. When the question of confirming his appointment came up in the Senate of the United States, with a large number of others, he failed to receive the necessary vote of confirmation, and was accordingly relieved of his command on the 30th of March, and compelled unwillingly to bid farewell to the army before the conclusion of the war, and return home as a private citizen.

The service lost in Gen. Cowdin a brave and faithful officer; a commander friendly, genial, and considerate in his treatment of his men; and one concerning whom the rare statement may be made, that, from the time he buckled on his sword until he laid it aside again, one drop of intoxicating liquor never found its way between his lips, as a beverage.

About the time that Gen. Cowdin took his leave, Gen. Grover, the division commander, also received an appointment in another department, and was succeeded by Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, who, in company with Gens. Heintzelman and Carr, reviewed the division on the afternoon of Oct. 2, in the vicinity of Fort Runyon, immediately after his appointment. A large number of recruits had been added to the various regiments, which, with the return of wounded and sick who had recovered sufficiently to resume their duties, gave the ranks a full and cheering appearance.

The condition of Gen. Lee's army, after he crossed the Potomac into Virginia, was such, that he could have caused considerable trouble to the forces scattered about Washington, had he seen fit to approach

the city in force. On the 10th of October, a large body of his cavalry, under command of the ubiquitous Stuart, suddenly appeared at Chambersburg, Penn., set fire to the railroad depot, Government store-houses and machine-shops, marched the next day to Emmetsburg, and so on, round through Woodsborough and Newmarket, to Monrovia, whence he pushed on towards the Potomac, dividing his forces, and crossing mainly at Conrad's Ferry, six miles below the mouth of the Monocacy; carrying with him over a thousand captured horses, besides a large amount of spoils, having gone completely round Gen. McClellan's army, in a circuit of little over one hundred miles.

It was deemed advisable, on account of this condition of things, to establish well-guarded outposts on all the roads leading to the Federal capital; and the First Regiment was accordingly ordered to garrison Munson's Hill, a commanding eminence within six miles of Washington in a straight line. This had been a favorite post with the rebels in the earlier part of the war; and upon the crest of the hill they had thrown up a circular redoubt, without the usual ditch, which gives height and impregnability to the walls, but with a strong abatis surrounding the ramparts on all sides. A battery of artillery accompanied the regiment into the redoubt: and the men made their quarters under the parapet, as closely as they could creep; for the season was getting late, and the nights, especially when there was a strong wind, were very cold.

The utmost vigilance could discover nothing in the vicinity of this hill to indicate an intended approach of the enemy to Washington; and, after holding it for ten

days, it was abandoned with the other outposts of the vicinity to join in the onward movement towards Richmond by the way of Falmouth and Fredericksburg. Of reviews and inspections, at this time, there were the usual number; some being held by Gen. Carr, of the brigade, and others by Gen. Sickles, of the division: but by far the most important one was held by President Lincoln, Gens. Banks, Heintzelman, Sickles, and other distinguished men, civil and military, on Wednesday afternoon, Oct. 22. The weather was windy, dusty, and cold, and marching, in consequence, extremely disagreeable, but the movements were all executed in fine style, and gave perfect satisfaction to the large number of spectators who had assembled from Washington and Alexandria to witness them.

The army of Gen. McClellan remained comparatively inactive after the battle of Antietam, from the 18th of September until the 26th of October. Why it did so was the question and wonder of the time, and caused no little complaint, first against Gen. McClellan, secondly against Gen. Halleck, thirdly against the War Department, and fourthly against Gen. Meigs, President Lincoln, and the Administration collectively. No doubt a variety of causes contributed to occasion the delay. The rebels occupied the right bank of the Potomac in force, compelling Gen. McClellan, as the water was low, to guard the fords with large bodies of men, in order that the invasion of Maryland, or Stuart's raid into Pennsylvania, might not be repeated. The first, fifth, and sixth corps, after the battle of Antietam, were greatly in need of shoes, clothing, and shelter-tents, which could not be, or had not been, forwarded in sufficient quantities to supply them. And

lastly, the cavalry, artillery, and team-horses had been so much exposed and overworked during the battles commencing with Cedar Mountain, and ending with Antietam, that they were worn out or broken down with fatigue, and fresh animals were not forwarded fast enough to supply the deficiency. These were the reasons given by Gen. McClellan and his friends for delaying the advance into Virginia.

To all of them President Lincoln, Gen. Halleck, Gen. Meigs, and others replied, showing that the fords of the Potomac would not need to be guarded if the enemy were driven back from the other side ; that shoes, clothing, tents, and every species of supplies were furnished in sufficient quantities ; and fresh horses forwarded fast enough to enable the army to immediately resume the offensive. Accordingly, on the 6th of October, a peremptory order was transmitted to Gen. McClellan, instructing him to cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him South at once, before the wet weather set in, and while the roads were good.

The advance, however, was delayed day after day, on various pretexts, for nearly three weeks, and did not commence until the morning of Sunday, Oct. 26. Col. Pleasanton then pushed across the Potomac at Berlin, followed by Gen. Burnside and all his forces in light marching order. The rebels made no attempt to dispute their progress, but prepared to abandon the bank of the river entirely, and fall back into the interior.

The division of Gen. Sickles received an order Friday, Oct. 31, to join in the advance movement ; and the next day, at five o'clock in the afternoon, broke

camp at Fairfax Seminary, and took the road towards Fairfax Court House, bivouacking that night at a sequestered spot known as Annandale. Next morning the march was resumed, and continued, in company with the rest of the division, through Fairfax Court House, till within two miles of Centreville, when the First Regiment was detached from the brigade, and ordered back to do provost-duty at Fairfax Court House and Station. The rest of the division went on beyond Manassas, Bristow Station, and Warrenton, where a junction was effected with the main body of Gen. McClellan's forces, which were making regular advances, while the rebels were steadily falling back before them. Fairfax Court House derived its principal importance from its location; being only a small village, containing perhaps three hundred inhabitants. As it was the capital of Fairfax County, it had, of course, the usual court house and jail, about which, on three or four principal streets, clustered some sixty dwellings, including one church, three stores, and several mechanics' shops. The whole region was named for Sir Thomas Fairfax, a British nobleman, born in 1690, who came to this country in 1739 to look after the large estates he had inherited from his mother, the daughter of Lord Culpepper, Governor of Virginia between 1680 and 1683. He was a man of considerable erudition, and quite a favorite in English society; but a disappointment in love made him forswear the fashionable world, and hurry away from home to hide his aching heart amid the solitudes of the Western continent. He owned nearly six millions of acres of land lying between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, on both sides of the Blue Ridge, including a con-

siderable portion of the Shenandoah Valley. Not far from Mount Vernon, he erected a spacious mansion called Belvoir, where for several years he dispensed the hospitality of a cultivated English gentleman, until, in 1748, he made the acquaintance of George Washington, then a boy of sixteen, engaged in surveying, who represented the beauties of his lordship's estate west of the Blue Ridge in such glowing colors, that he went thither to see it ; and was so much delighted, that he erected another residence called Greenway Court, in the midst of a manor of ten thousand acres, where, in baronial ease, dignity, and independence, surrounded by his dogs and horses, he lived until he was ninety-two years of age. He was thoroughly English in his love of the chase, and entertained the fox-hunting gentry of the neighborhood with special liberality. Washington continued on intimate terms with him until the Revolutionary War, when the nobleman declared for his king. The surrender at Yorktown cut him to the quick, and indeed seems to have hastened his death, which occurred shortly afterwards. Fairfax County, Fairfax Court House, and Fairfax Village, which is the capital of Culpepper County, so called after his grandfather the governor, seem to have been named for him.

At Fairfax Court House, the provost-duty done by the companies was light, and without particularly exciting incident. Major Gardner Walker was provost-marshal of the town ; and every day stragglers from the army were brought in, or citizens suspected of complicity with the enemy, or prisoners who had been captured in skirmishes, supplying to the office sufficient business to occupy the clerks and orderlies in waiting

as long as business hours lasted. The people of the place and vicinity, most of whom were unprotected females, their husbands having gone off in the rebel army, had numerous complaints to make of invasions of their premises, violent seizures of poultry, fence-rails, lumber, and other articles, and various trivial indignities to which they had been exposed ; for most of which they found there was no remedy, and were constrained to accept the philosophical conclusion that they were the legitimate consequences of war, and must be endured as unavoidable.

Householders and small farmers in and about the village were very desirous of special guards to protect them from peculation and annoyance, and considered themselves seriously aggrieved when their unreasonable demands were not complied with.

Companies D, F, G, and H, were detached from the regiment soon after arriving at the Court House, and sent down to Fairfax Station. The rest of the companies, with the exception of C, soon after followed, and went into camp near the railroad just below the depot of the post-commissary, on the left of the common road leading to the River Occoquan.

Here, on the 7th of November, occurred the first snow-storm of the season. The men had at the time nothing but shelter-tents and rubber-blankets ; and many of them suffered severely with the cold. It led to unusual activity in the construction of cabins and huts, and to the appropriation of every board, shingle, and beam which could be obtained for miles around. There were two churches not far from camp, one a modern edifice of wood ; the other, more ancient, constructed of brick. The wooden building was converted into

a hospital; and from the brick, every thing movable was removed, including even the tablets on which were painted the Ten Commandments; nothing being left but the roof and the walls. The country round about Fairfax Court House and Station had been occupied by the enemy in considerable force; and several well-filled graveyards in the vicinity of their former camping-grounds showed that they had suffered severely by sickness and death.

It was necessary for the regiment not only to guard the Station, where several trains to and from Alexandria made daily stops, bringing up recruits, supplies, and munitions of war to the front, but also to picket the entire position and several miles of the track up and down the road. Instead of sending companies out from the central camp every morning, to be distributed along the track, certain companies were chosen to attend to this duty permanently; and they constructed outpost camps for their special comfort and convenience, which were models of military compactness and Yankee ingenuity. From these the picket-stations branched out, each man within supporting distance of the next; and this led to the formation of the picket-telegraph, by which orders, messages, and news items were sent from man to man, over miles of space, almost as quickly as they could be conveyed by electricity.

On the 8th of November, the whole army was startled with the tidings that Gen. McClellan had been removed and ordered to report to Trenton, N. J., and that Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside had been appointed to succeed him in command of the forces then advancing upon Fredericksburg. Gen. McClellan was still a fa-

vorite with many of the troops; and to them his removal, occasioned, as they believed, by political hostility, was exceedingly distasteful. The majority, however, did not care who led them, provided he led to victory.

On Monday, Nov. 10, Gen. McClellan held a parting review of such of the troops as he could conveniently gather in the vicinity of Warrenton, for the purpose of taking a formal and final farewell. He rode a handsome horse, splendidly caparisoned, was accompanied by an imposing retinue of staff and general officers, and was greeted along the lines by demonstrations of unmistakable respect and affection. On the next day, he took a special train for Alexandria and Washington. At every station on the road, the troops were drawn up with arms at the "Present!" salutes of artillery were fired, the soldiers cheered, and the general bowed his thanks, or, if there was time, urged those who crowded round the cars to stand by Gen. Burnside as they had stood by him, and all would be well. The loyal, manly, and patriotic spirit shown by Gen. McClellan during the whole of this trying experience cannot be too highly commended.

While on picket along the railroad track in stormy weather, the men were accustomed to improvise such shelter as they were able, by stretching their rubber-blankets across poles, or rails, and creeping under them for protection. They also dug holes, or caverns, in the bank, which was of sand, or clay, and easily excavated. An unfortunate accident on the 20th of November put an end to this practice, and caused the death of Henry S. Bailey, of Company H, who was on picket at the time. In company with another man, he was lying asleep in such a cavern, when the moisture of the earth

caused the roof to fall in, covering him to the depth of several feet with the loose sand. His companion, being near the mouth of the cave, extricated himself from his perilous situation as soon as possible, and shouted for assistance. When it came, the utmost despatch was used in removing the sand and soil resting upon young Bailey ; but he was reached too late. Life had been extinct several minutes. He seemed to have been smothered at once. The body was buried in the yard of the wooden church used for a hospital at the Station ; and a neat wooden head-board, inscribed with his name, age, company, regiment, and date of death, was erected by his comrades.

In the camp at Fairfax Station could be found some very neat and cosy cabins constructed by the troops for winter-quarters. They were hardly completed, however, when orders were received for the regiment to immediately rejoin the division, which was then encamped in the vicinity of Wolf's-Run Shoals. Wolf's Run was a tributary to the Occoquan, six miles from Fairfax Station. It was a sore trial to the men to leave their pleasant habitations ; but there was no help for it : and on the morning of Nov. 25, they started, reaching Wolf's Run about noon. The water was ice-cold, and the bottom of the Run strewn with loose, slippery stones ; making the passage both disagreeable and dangerous. Several men fell, and one wagon capsized, turning nearly all its contents into the stream. Upon the opposite side the regiment was ordered to go into bivouac, and wait for a train of wagons loaded with hospital supplies, expected soon to arrive from Washington. Thanksgiving Day, the 27th, found them still waiting, and brought with it,

by express, a large number of boxes for the regiment, containing good things from home, and a special feast for Company E (the Pulaski guards), accompanied by a delegation of South-Boston gentlemen mainly instrumental in securing its collection, and seeing it safe through to its happy recipients. Above the camp was an abandoned rebel earthwork, sheltered from the wind, spacious, sightly, and affording an admirable place for a Thanksgiving dinner ; and there the tables were accordingly spread. Never was New England's honored feast more thoroughly appreciated, or more heartily enjoyed. Full justice was done to the ample supplies provided ; and the proceedings concluded by speeches from several of the invited guests and members of the company.

The expected wagon-train did not arrive until the evening of Nov. 30, having been delayed by some difficulty in obtaining the requisite supplies, and by the broken and miry condition of the roads. On the morning of Dec. 1, the march was resumed ; and before night the command went into bivouac at Dumfries, on the north side of Quantico Creek, about two and one-half miles from its mouth. Formerly this had been a thriving and prosperous place, containing two churches, a flour-mill, woollen factory, and several stores ; and carried on quite a trade by way of Quantico Creek, the Potomac, and Chesapeake Bay, with Washington and Baltimore. But every thing had apparently fallen into decay ; not over one hundred inhabitants remaining in the place, and most of those were women.

Close by Dumfries were seen the camps occupied by the rebel forces during the winter of 1861-2, when the First Regiment was at Budd's Ferry, indicating

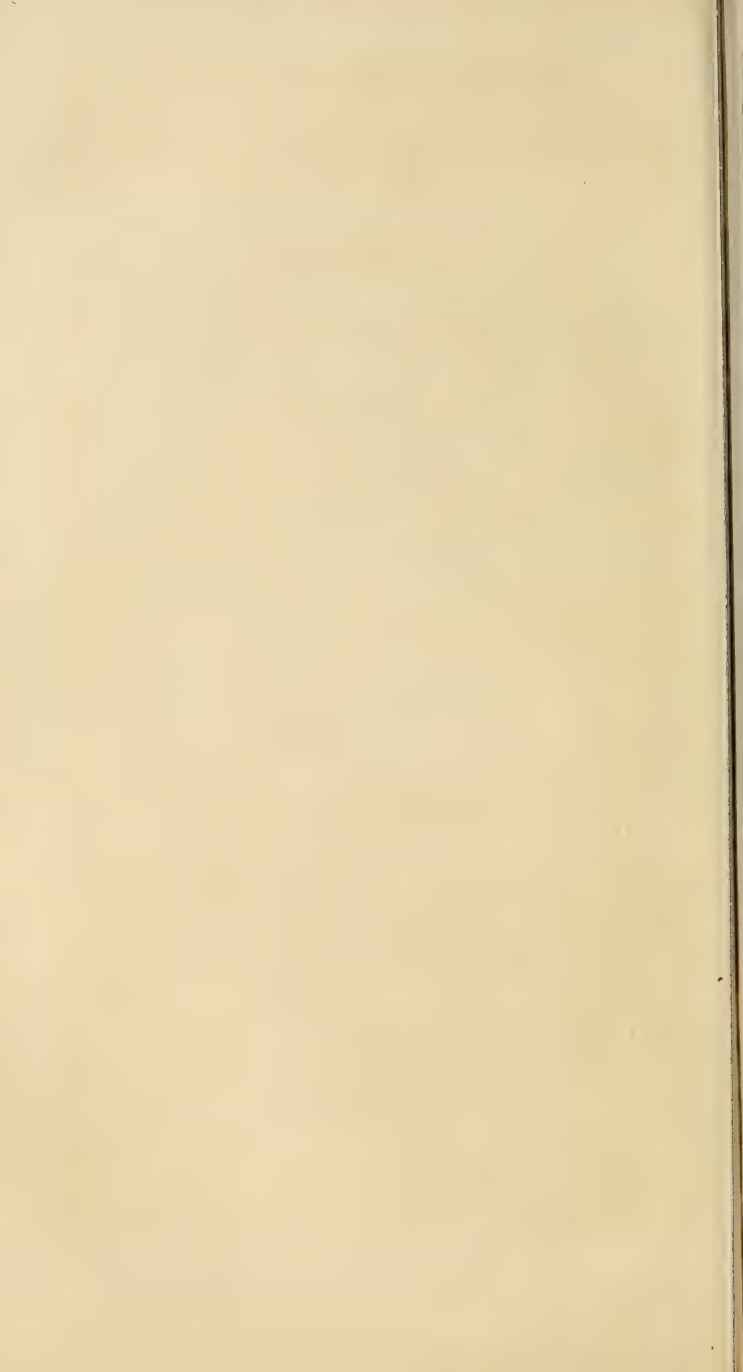
that not less than ten thousand men had been encamped there at one time.

The march was resumed on the next day, and continued, without unusual incident, to Stafford Court House, an insignificant settlement near Aquia Creek, containing a court house, jail, store, and half a dozen dwelling-houses. About noon, Dec. 3, the regiment came up with the rest of the division, and encamped in a thick pine wood, equidistant from the Aquia-Creek Railroad in the rear, and the Rappahannock River in front.



CHARGE ON THE HEIGHTS AT FREDERICKSBURG.







CHAPTER XII.

BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

"The grand old earth shakes to the tread of the Norsemen,
Who meet, as of old, in defence of the true.
All hail to the stars that are set in their banner!
All hail to the red, and the white, and the blue!
As each column wheels by,
Hear their heart's battle-cry, —
It was Warren's, — '*'Tis sweet for our country to die !*' "

T. B. ALDRICH.

THE appointment of Gen. Burnside to command the Army of the Potomac had been entirely unsolicited on his part. He rather shrank from the responsibilities of such an important position ; but his patriotism was of such a self-sacrificing quality, that he allowed himself to be persuaded into its acceptance. As a man, he had the confidence and respect of every person in the army : as a great general, required to manœuvre and control one hundred and twenty thousand men, it was felt that he had not had sufficient experience.

The troops were in admirable condition and good spirits when he assumed the reins, and, being numerically ahead of the rebel forces to the extent of thirty thousand men, his friends were confident he would force Lee back upon Richmond in course of the winter. The seven corps composing the army were organized into three grand divisions ; the second and ninth corps forming the right grand division ; the first

and sixth corps, the left; the third and fifth, the centre; the eleventh corps to constitute a reserve, with such assignments of cavalry, artillery, and recruits as the exigencies of the service might require. On the right, Gen. E. V. Sumner was in command; on the left, Gen. W. B. Franklin; in the centre, Gen. Joseph Hooker. Gen. F. Siegel commanded the reserves.

The direction of the Union forces was first towards Gordonsville, so that, to prevent himself from being cut off from Richmond, Gen. Lee was obliged to fall back with considerable haste. Stonewall Jackson attempted to distract the attention of Gen. Burnside's forces by occupying a portion of the country looking towards the valley of the Potomac; but it was discovered that his movement was only a feint, and nothing came of it.

Warrenton was evacuated by the Union army on the 15th of November, and the line of march taken up towards Fredericksburg. Gen. Lee fell back simultaneously, and occupied Gordonsville, keeping the bulk of his forces parallel with the columns of Gen. Burnside, and about forty or fifty miles to the left and rear.

Supplies were sent to Aquia Creek, and the railroad thence to Falmouth was put in complete repair for their transmission.

Gen. Sumner, at the head of the right grand division, reached Falmouth on the 20th of November, which he occupied without resistance. This pleasant and thriving town, situated on the left bank of the Rappahannock, sixty-four miles north of Richmond, was the grand rendezvous for Gen. Burnside's forces. It was nearly opposite Fredericksburg, surrounded with hills sloping to the river, and had been a place

of considerable business and wealth. It contained one church, thirteen stores, eighty dwelling-houses, six flour and grist mills, various mechanics' shops, and five hundred inhabitants. The bridges connecting it with Fredericksburg had been destroyed, so that whatever communication existed between the residents was carried on by means of boats.

Fredericksburg, right opposite, and extending below for a distance of one mile, was delightfully located along the river bank, in a broad basin of land skirted by a semicircular range of hills overlooking the city in every direction. It was named in honor of Prince Frederick, father of George III., and settled long before the Revolutionary War. Washington's father lived here several years, while George was a boy; and the remains of his mother still lie in a field near the handsome family mansion they formerly occupied.

Previous to the war, Fredericksburg exported flour, grain, tobacco, leather, &c., worth four millions a year. In 1860 its population was over five thousand, and constantly increasing. Its people were generally disloyal, having been infected with the sophistry of Gen. Lee,—that they must go with their State, without regard to the nation; as though a man owed greater allegiance to one thirty-sixth of a great country, because he happened to be born on its soil, than to the remaining thirty-five thirty-sixths! The manufactories of the city, at this time, were producing clothing, subsistence, and munitions of war for the rebel army; and these it had been determined to close or destroy. On the 21st of November, Gen. Sumner sent to the mayor and common council a formal demand for the surrender of the city, alleging that his troops had been fired

upon from the houses ; and that the mills, railroads, and other resources of the people, had been devoted to the extension of aid and comfort to the enemy ; threatening, in case his demand was not complied with, to shell the town, after allowing a sufficient time for the removal of women, children, the aged, and the sick. Mayor Slaughter responded, in behalf of the citizens, that the firing complained of was the act of rebel soldiers having no residence in the city, and no connection with the municipal authorities ; that the mills and factories should be stopped forthwith ; but that the city could not be surrendered, the generals in command of the rebel forces near by having positively forbidden it, as they neither intended to occupy it themselves, nor to allow the Union forces to do so. It is possible, had Gen. Sumner immediately entered Fredericksburg in force, that the disaster which followed might have been averted ; but he proceeded to parley with the authorities, which gave the rebels time to throw up formidable earthworks on the surrounding hills, and gather together most of their army in the immediate vicinity. There was also an unaccountable delay in forwarding from Washington the pontoon-trains needed to make the passage of the Rappahannock ; so that, by the time all the grand divisions of the Union army had arrived in front of Fredericksburg, Gen. Lee had massed his forces in the rear of it. Along the banks of the Rappahannock, which, at this point, is only a few hundred feet wide, the pickets of both armies were posted ; the Union pickets being on the Falmouth side, and the rebels on the Fredericksburg side. They had entered into an agreement not to fire upon each other, spending their time in watching such of the operations

as they could see on either side, or by jeering each other, until it was forbidden by the officers. Some trading was carried on by means of shingles launched upon the river, freighted with tobacco or papers, and driven across by the wind; but most of these investments resulted in loss, much to the disgust of the adventurers. The rebel pickets were so near, that our men could see how poorly they were clothed, and hear them complain that they were only half fed. Frequently there was but one overcoat to three of them, and as they relieved each other this was passed from one to the other. There was no such destitution as this in our army, although regiments were compelled to wait occasionally several days before their requisitions were fully met.

Gen. Burnside, having discovered that the enemy did not anticipate his crossing the Rappahannock in front of Fredericksburg, prepared to do so without delay.

The pontoons had been floated down Quantico Creek from Dumfries, and carried to Aquia-Creek Landing by water. Thence they were conveyed on the cars to Falmouth; and, during the night of Dec. 10, transported to the river for use the next day.

The troops were supplied with sixty cartridges apiece, and subsistence for three days. One hundred and forty-three pieces of artillery were posted, commanding every foot of Fredericksburg soil; and long before daylight on the 11th, the men were roused from their slumbers, and made ready for the approaching conflict. The morning was cold and still; and the smoke from thousands of fires having become chilled rested upon the ground, and covered it like a cloud.

It was impossible for the rebels to observe, on this account, what we were about; and considerable progress had been made before daybreak, when they became aware of our designs. Immediately a brisk fire of musketry was opened upon the engineers and their assistants, which at once interrupted proceedings, and drove them back from the bank of the river. The houses on the opposite shore afforded admirable cover for the enemy's sharp-shooters, who rested their guns across the sills of the windows, and picked off officers and men at their leisure.

Under cover of the surrounding hills, the pontoniers re-formed, and again advanced to their perilous undertaking. It was now daylight: the smoke was lifting; and the persons of the bridge-builders were fully exposed to view. The rebels had strengthened their picket-line; and all their rifle-pits were full of sharp-shooters, pouring, not single shots, but whole volleys, upon the devoted men who were endeavoring to lay the pontoons. To persist in the undertaking was almost certain death. Planks, boats, and wagons, as well as men, were riddled with the flying balls; and again the effort was abandoned, and the working-party fell to the rear.

Orders were now given for the artillery to open upon the town, which were obeyed at once. The concussion was tremendous. Most of the guns were as large as, or larger than, twelve-pounders; and some were thirty-two-pounders. They were all worked with a will, and the incessant discharges joined in one continuous and deafening roar. They fired mainly shells, which flew through the streets in every direction, perforating buildings, knocking down chimneys, and setting fire

to half a dozen habitations at once. Houses which had sheltered sharp-shooters were made targets for a specially energetic fire ; and speedily they were cleared, the former occupants retreating to the rear of the town, where they were out of harm's way.

Under cover of the artillery, another attempt was made to go on with laying the pontoons ; but a sufficient number of the rebels had remained in their rifle-pits to render this almost as hazardous as before, and a third time it had to be given up.

It was now afternoon, the best part of the day had gone, quite a number of men had been killed or wounded, and nothing was accomplished. Some one suggested that volunteers go over in the pontoons by boat-loads, clear out the rebels from their rifle-pits and hiding-places, and hold the town until the bridges could be thrown across. It was immediately acted upon. A large number of men from the Nineteenth Massachusetts and Seventh Michigan Regiments hurried down to the river, launched the boats, filled them, pushed over, landed, rushed up the bank, into the buildings and over the rifle-pits near them, chasing the flying rebels from house to house and corner to corner, until they fell back from the rear of the town, and disappeared beyond the crest of the hill. There was no longer any obstacle to the completion of the bridges. They were laid as expeditiously as possible ; and the whole of Gen. Sumner's grand division crossed, with a portion of Gen. Hooker's. During all this time, the rebels had used nothing but small-arms. Their batteries had not responded to our artillery-fire by a single shot ; and when Gen. Sumner's troops were

filing across the bridges, in plain sight of their position, they made no effort to prevent it.

The city presented a scene of destruction and ruin which seemed truly deplorable. Walls were breached; roofs crushed in; fronts rent, shattered, tottering; interiors demolished; a dozen homes burning; dwellings and furniture alike left by the frightened inhabitants, most of whom had departed from the city, and were then encamped in the woods beyond.

Among those who went over the river with the Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment, before the bridges were done, was the Rev. Arthur B. Fuller, former chaplain of the Massachusetts Sixteenth Regiment. He had just been mustered out of service on account of ill health, and had come on to pay a farewell visit to the regiment as they started for Fredericksburg. The Sixteenth was not called upon to cross with the Nineteenth; but Mr. Fuller, standing upon the bank, and seeing the boats pushed off, became seized with a desire to go in one of them; and so obtained a musket, and went over with the rest. In the *mêlée* which occurred as soon as the men had scaled the bank and begun to advance along the streets, Mr. Fuller was shot through the side and breast, and instantly killed. He was robbed of his watch and money, and a portion of his clothing; but his body was recovered in the afternoon, and sent North for interment.

Nothing could have been more admirable and gallant than the passage of the river in open boats, exposed, every inch of the way, to a galling and destructive fire, by these brave men from Massachusetts and Michigan. What the bombardment of seven long hours, involving

an expenditure of tons of shot and shell, had failed to accomplish, about four hundred resolute fellows achieved in less than one. Every effort was made by the rebels to prevent the passage of the boats. From all their lurking-places, they poured in an angry and rapid fire, riddling the pontoons, and killing and wounding many of the occupants; but as soon as they reached the opposite bank, and rushed up to the assault, — from an hundred concealments, stone walls, earthworks, cellars, and vacant buildings, they started up, and tried to scramble away. Many of them were brought down by Union bullets; and over eighty were secured, and sent back as prisoners.

Until dusk, on the 11th, the crossing continued; not only Fredericksburg, but a large portion of the plain above, below, and beyond it, being occupied by our forces. The remainder bivouacked on the Falmouth side, turning in as they stood, without regard to tents. The night was frosty, and the next morning similar to that which preceded it. Owing to the dense cloud of smoke which obscured every thing from view, movements were not so rapid as otherwise they would have been. Crossing recommenced early, and continued all day on the 12th.

In the afternoon, some rebel guns from the batteries nearest the city opened upon it; but a few shots from the Union side silenced them, and they remained quiet the rest of the day. From morning until night, the First Regiment stood upon the bank watching the passage of the bridges, and waiting their turn to go over with the rest. Artillery-firing had been slight and irregular; and, after the rebel sharp-shooters had been routed from the town, the musketry ceased altogether.

Just before dark, orders were issued to divide Gen. Hooker's grand division, sending a portion of it with the right under Gen. Sumner, and the rest with the left under Gen. Franklin. The latter officer had met with no obstacle in building his bridges, inasmuch as right in front of the place he had chosen was an open plain swept in every direction by the fire of his batteries. The division of Gen. Sickles marched to his support, and reached a forest bordering the river-side about seven o'clock. They went into bivouac here, and remained until morning. From neighboring hill-tops nearly all his forces could be seen, stretched across an open plain, beyond which were woods and rising ground held by the enemy. The rebels had taken advantage of the natural defences of the country, and posted their troops from Port Royal, below Fredericksburg, in two lines, to Guinney's Station on the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad; thence to the Telegraph Road, and thence to a point west of Massaponax Creek, six miles above Fredericksburg.

Their best generals were all present, including Lee, Jackson, Longstreet, Stuart, and Hill. Their troops were spread like the outer portion of a lady's folding fan, when it is open. Ours were gathered together like the inner portion. From whatever part of the position held by them the Union forces attempted to advance, the rebels could pour upon them a concentric fire, under which, if kept up, it was utterly in vain for men to attempt to stand. This was not known, of course, on the morning of Saturday, the 13th; but it was found out afterwards, at a fearful cost.

Before noon of the 13th, Gen. Sickles's division was ordered across the river to occupy an open field

in the front line of battle between Gen. Franklin's forces on the left, and the rest of Gen. Hooker's grand division on the right. As they advanced across the plain, a few cannon-shots were fired over their heads, but otherwise their advance was not disputed, until they came within rifle-shot of the rebel position, just in the rear of a line of skirmishers whom they were to relieve.

All the morning a furious conflict had been raging on the left, caused by a galling fire from some rebel guns which the Ninth New-York Regiment was ordered to charge upon, and, if possible, capture. They made the charge, but failed to effect the capture, the enemy's artillery being too strongly supported. Gen. Tyler ordered forward a brigade; but the rebel commander opposed to him did the same thing, and again the Union forces failed to accomplish their object. Determined not to be foiled, a general assault was ordered; and as this took the rebels somewhat at a disadvantage, on account of our numerical superiority, they began gradually to fall back. The ground was contested with pertinacious obstinacy, however, and yielded to our advancing columns only inch by inch. Two or three times, counter charges were attempted, one of which resulted in the capture of a large number of rebel prisoners. The right flank of Lee's army was evidently turned, as his line was driven back a mile, and at dark our forces held the ground gained.

On the right we had not succeeded so well. The rebels were under cover, and their position could only be taken by storm. Our men were ordered to fix bayonets, and charge. There was an open plain to cross, perhaps half a mile wide. It was commanded

first by a long stone wall, which had been strengthened by earth, and was held by a large force of sharpshooters. Above was a row of light batteries, designed to throw canister and spherical case; and, higher up still, heavier guns, located in splendid field-works, and supported by brigades of infantry. At the right and left, other batteries were planted, enfilading the position, and rendering an assault almost certain death. The order to charge was given, nevertheless; and our brave troops attempted to carry it into execution; but, the moment they exposed themselves, the murderous missiles of lead and iron flew in every direction. Rifle-pits, batteries, hill-tops, and stone wall blazed with fire, and hurled a perfect avalanche of cannon-balls and bullets through their ranks. They were literally mowed down by hundreds. Great chasms were opened in their lines by canister and shell, and whole company fronts, broken up into little squads, reeled and staggered in the midst of the tempest of death. But again and again they closed up. Again and again they pressed forward over the mangled and prostrate forms of their comrades. Three times thrown into disorder; three times quivering, faltering, hesitating; three times they were steadied, brought together, and led onward again. They had crossed the plain, and almost reached the stone wall at its base, when whole divisions of the enemy rose up on top of the hill, and poured a terribly destructive fire, at short range, right into their faces. Flesh and blood could not endure it. The centre halted, wavered, and turned back. The whole line followed, pursued by the same terrific volleys which had greeted their advance in the beginning,

mingled with shouts and yells from the enemy, exulting over our discomfiture.

As soon as it could be done with safety to his own men, Gen. Sumner opened with all his artillery upon the rebel position, and forced the vociferating crowd under cover again. In the centre, commanded by Gen. Hooker, whose grand division had been considerably weakened to reënforce Franklin, skirmishing commenced early in the day and continued until late in the forenoon, accompanied by a rapid cannonade, participated in by both parties, without much apparent result, on account of the dense and smoky condition of the atmosphere. Artillery seemed to have no effect upon the rebels, as they were perfectly shielded behind their earthworks and intrenchments. At noon, therefore, an effort was made to dislodge them with the bayonet. The troops formed in plain sight of the enemy, and charged up to within five hundred yards of his works, but were received with such rapid and withering volleys, that their progress became slower and slower, and finally was arrested altogether. Reënforcements were sent forward, and some advance made; but, for every moment's stay, our loss in killed and wounded was so heavy, that, between five and six in the afternoon, the infantry fell back beyond range of the rebel fire; and the artillery alone renewed the battle, keeping it up until late into the night.

Thus closed the 13th. No advantage had been gained by the Union forces, except on the left by Gen. Franklin. For some reason, this advantage was not followed up. Thousands of men had been killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; most of the killed and

wounded lying in such a position between the two lines, that they could not be approached for burial or relief. Several regiments having been caught in a valley between two hills, fronting the enemy and swept by their guns along every rod of the summits, were compelled to lie there, hugging the ground to keep beneath the line swept by the rifle-balls, all day and part of the night. No sooner did a man lift his head, than he became the target for half a dozen or more sharp-shooters, who fired at everybody they could see within range of their weapons.

The night of the 13th closed in clear and cool. The First Regiment lay in a corn-field, still rough with the ridges of the last summer's harvest. The ground was soft enough, but damp and chilly. No fires were allowed, for fear of drawing the enemy's volleys; and the men lay all night, shivering and in suspense, between the furrows of the corn-field. Occasionally a gun was discharged; but for most of the night the silence was unbroken, except by the axes of rebel woodchoppers, who spent the hours between dark and daylight in fortifying their position, expecting that it would be assaulted the next day.

At daybreak, the skirmishers began their duels again, and continued them for most of the day. Whoever approached the Union front did it at the peril of his life; and the relief of skirmishers was the occasion of a specially vigorous fusillade.

Early in the morning, the rebels attempted to shell our brigade, by running out cannon to a position in front of their main line; but a company of riflemen from the Second New-Hampshire Regiment, having taken an advanced position within a few hundred

yards, drove gunners, officers, and horses in confusion from their pieces, and kept them quiet for the rest of the day.

By mutual consent, the firing ceased at noon ; and, permission having been obtained to bring in our wounded, a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon. Sharp-shooters, skirmishers, and soldiers from the nearest lines of battle, immediately left their places, and advanced towards the rebels, while they, in turn, came forward to meet our men. It presented one of the strangest sights to which the war had given rise.

Rebels and Unionists of all ranks were mixed up together, talking in the most frank and cordial manner, as though they had always been friends and intended ever to remain so. Large quantities of tobacco were exchanged by the rebels for Northern papers, chiefly pictorials, which they regarded with great favor. A couple of officers, — one Union, the other Rebel, — played a game of cards ; and several other groups took a drink of whiskey together, and toasted, — one side the Federal arms, and the other the Rebel. As usual, the rebels were confident of final success, but acknowledged that they had been compelled to do a great deal of hard fighting, and might be forced to do a great deal more. In two or three instances, soldiers on opposite sides, who had been friends or acquaintances before the war, recognized each other, and discussed the merits of their respective parties with all the avidity of thorough-bred politicians at some general nominating convention.

As soon as the ambulances and stretcher-bearers had finished their work, the truce terminated ; and the parties separated, half reluctantly, as it were, some in

a spirit of banter and brag, and others with manifestations of real friendliness and good-will. Another night of comparative quiet succeeded, broken only by the ring of axes, and the clatter of intrenching tools in the neighboring woods, showing that the enemy anticipated a second advance on our part, and were making preparations to give us a warm reception when we undertook it. Along certain portions of our own line, slight earthworks were thrown up, barely sufficient to cover infantry; but no attempt was made to construct regular intrenchments.

Monday, the 15th, brought with it no renewal of the conflict on either side. Both parties occupied relatively the same position, and carried on a scattering and irregular fire, which did very little harm. Sunday and Monday, Fredericksburg had been in possession of our troops; and many of its houses were used as hospitals for our sick and wounded men. The streets were strewn with the wreck of houses, furniture, and war material, scattered about during and subsequent to the bombardment of the 11th. Turn wherever you might, your eye would be greeted with the ruinous results caused by Union artillery. Hardly a house but had been penetrated, and many had been scored from cellar to garret, by the flying projectiles. The Bank of the State of Virginia, with a large number of other business and dwelling-houses, had been reduced to ashes; streets and sidewalks were piled up with bricks, knocked off the roofs or fallen from the burning dwellings; doors were burst in, windows broken open; spacious habitations were standing silent, tenantless, and emptied of furniture, excepting a few old chairs and tables, not worth carrying away; while whole

streets, deserted, desolate, forsaken, echoed only to the tread of some Union sentinel, as he paced to and fro on his solitary beat.

Of the former inhabitants, only fifteen or twenty families remained during the bombardment; and they saved themselves from destruction only by retiring to their cellars. They were mostly Union people, who had determined to abide the issue of the battle, whichever way it terminated.

Night closed on the 15th, without any change of position on either side. Except an occasional discharge along the skirmish line, there had been no renewal of the assault by the Union forces; and the rebels manifested an obstinate determination to remain in their intrenchments, and act entirely on the defensive.

It was considered possible to drive them out of these at the point of the bayonet; but the accomplishment of such an undertaking would involve so fearful an expenditure of human life, that Gen. Burnside and his grand-division commanders shrank from the endeavor. Orders were therefore promulgated to keep up a show of force along the skirmish line and front line of battle till late into the night, and then to fall back as quietly as possible to the other side of the river. It is astonishing how much quicker the forces came back than they went over, — nearly two days in getting across, they returned inside of eight hours.

Special guards were posted to keep the fires burning brightly along the stations of the reserves, and make such other demonstrations as would most effectually cover and conceal the retrograde movement. The artillery was sent back first, that the guns might be

stationed so as to cover the retreating columns, if they were assaulted and forced to give battle. Next came the ammunition and supply trains, ambulances and hospital-wagons, and, last of all, the infantry and cavalry.

Just as the movement began, dark clouds covered the heavens with their obscuring shadows; and a strong wind arose, which roared through the forest, and drove the branches of the trees against each other, making such a clatter as completely to render inaudible the rumbling of wheels over roads and bridges, the tinkling of spurs and sabres, and the jingle of dippers, bayonet-scabbards, and infantry accoutrements, — sounds always heard whenever an army is in motion.

At two o'clock in the morning, the Massachusetts First, which had been retained on the skirmish line to the last moment, began cautiously to move to the rear. Not a sound came from the woods in front, not an indication was observable that the enemy suspected our intention to retire. The bridges were reached in safety, crossed, and taken up before daylight, without the loss of a man!

Soon after three o'clock, the dark clouds which had arisen in the earlier part of the night poured forth a deluge of rain, which continued until after daybreak. This served more effectually to keep the rebels unobserved, while, at the same time, it added to the difficulties attending a pursuit. Soon after daybreak there was considerable commotion along their lines, as they opened their eyes and found that their neighbors of the evening previous had moved away during the darkness, without the formality of an adieu; and, after a few rounds of artillery, some of their skirmishers crept

along towards the river bank. They found, however, that every precaution had been taken to guard against disaster; and, not liking the thirty-two pound shells sent whizzing among them by the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery, they beat a precipitate retreat into the woods.

The wounded were then removed several miles back from the river, the hospitals in the vicinity broken up, and the troops ordered to report during the day at their old quarters, where before night most of them arrived.

Our loss during the five days had been as follows: —

In Gen. Sumner's grand division 473 killed, 4,090 wounded, 748 missing; making a total of 5,311.

In Gen. Hooker's grand division, 326 killed, 2,468 wounded, 754 missing; amounting to 3,548.

In Gen. Franklin's grand division, 339 killed, 2,547 wounded, 576 missing; total 3,462.

Whole number killed, 1,138; whole number wounded, 9,105; whole number missing, 2,078; making a grand total of 12,321.

The rebel loss was not stated officially, but was supposed to be less than five thousand, killed, wounded, and missing.

Thus resulted in failure the third attempt made by the Union forces to capture Richmond. It spread a feeling of gloom all over the country. The disloyal charged Union generals, the War Department, President Lincoln, and the Administration throughout, with imbecility; and many of the loyal felt that they had been served at best in but an indifferent and unsatisfactory manner. Gen. Burnside came out with a frank and manly statement of every thing that had trans-

pired at army headquarters, or in his intercourse with Gen. Halleck and President Lincoln, assuming all the responsibility that belonged to him, and perhaps a little more, expressing at the same time his great admiration of the gallantry, courage, and endurance shown by the troops throughout the undertaking, and his heartfelt sympathies for the wounded and bereaved. The rebels were demonstratively exultant over the result, and averred that the war was about over, and their independence nearly achieved.

No doubt the rank and file of the Southern army, poorly fed, poorly clothed, and poorly paid, compelled to march hundreds of miles, and fight closed in mass so compactly that artillery made frightful havoc in their ranks, were longing to see the close of the war. Stories of prisoners and deserters agreed upon this point; making it evident, that if the Federal authorities could prolong it, and make them feel its burdens more and more, they must finally give way from the utter impossibility of bearing up under them. During an interval of the fighting at Fredericksburg, soldiers from the front line of the rebel forces were observed to creep out of their places towards the bodies of our dead, who had on their army overcoats when they went into the battle; stand the stiffened corpses upon their feet until they could strip off these coveted garments; and then let them fall again to the earth. They invariably preferred the warm and comfortable attire furnished Union soldiers to their own coarse and scanty uniform; and improved every opportunity presented to procure it.

During the winter following the battle of Fredericksburg, their pickets along the Rappahannock repeatedly

endeavored to purchase Federal overcoats, offering to pay in greenbacks the regular quartermaster's price, or even more. Subsequent to the battle, parties met from both sides several times, bearing flags of truce, to effect an exchange of wounded general officers, or obtain the bodies of those who were dead; and some rebel females were allowed to pass over into their lines, and loyal ladies were received into ours.

After the evacuation of Fredericksburg on the morning of Tuesday, Dec. 16, the Massachusetts First Regiment met for the first time its new colonel, Capt. Napoleon B. McLaughlin, of the regular army. He had been detached from the sixth regular cavalry, and commissioned by Gov. John A. Andrew to occupy the place previously held by Gen. Robert Cowdin. He continued in command of the regiment until it was mustered out of the service in May, 1864, and then assumed command of the Fifty-seventh veterans, receiving the commission of brevet brigadier-general of volunteers for gallantry in action during the siege of Petersburg; and, at the conclusion of the war, the post of lieutenant-colonel of cavalry in his old regiment.

The losses of the First Regiment during the battle of Fredericksburg were light, inasmuch as they were on the skirmish line throughout the fighting, and took no part in the charges made upon the rebel batteries. They were as follows:—

Company G: Killed, Private John W. Brown.

Company C: Wounded, Sergeant David L. Messer, contusion in the breast; Corporal Frederic W. Trowbridge, wound in the hand; Corporal Eben O. Avery, wound in the leg; John Dorrans, wound in the hand;

William Mahlman, shot through the leg (subsequently died) ; Edward J. Ford, wound in the leg.

Company D : Wounded, Sergeant Seth F. Clark, shot through the knee (subsequently died) ; Sergeant James M. Sprague, shot through the thigh ; Corporal Alfred Hocking, shot through the breast ; John H. Baldwin, contusion.

Company E : Sergeant Frederick Pierce, wound in the knee ; John Potter, wound in the neck.

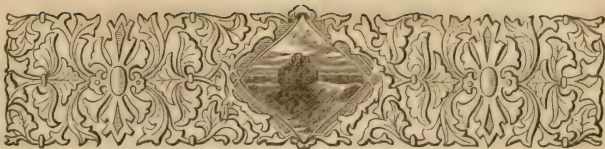
Company F : Sergeant William J. Loheed, wound in the head ; Corporal Charles F. Brown, wound in the shoulder ; John Q. Burrill, wound in the ankle.

Company G : Woodbury S. Harmon, wound in the shoulder ; James F. Carbrey, wound in the arm ; James Chadwick, wound in the hand ; James Norton, wound in the hip.

Company H : Corporal Patrick J. Donovan, shot in the shoulder ; Nathaniel B. Emerson, shot in the leg ; Christopher C. Grover, severe wound in the thigh ; John York, shot in the hand ; George S. Sullivan, shot in the hand.

Company I : George R. Kidder, wound in the arm ; Samson Woodhall, wound in the head ; William Ready, wound in the hand.

Company K : Sergeant Adoniram J. Barteaux, shot in the shoulder ; Thomas T. Mahony, shot in the head ; Langdon Sheriff, shot in the arm ; Robert J. Westcott, shot in the leg.



CHAPTER XIII.

CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH.

"In Freedom's name our blades we draw —
She arms us for the fight —
For country, government, and law,
For liberty and right.
The Union must, — shall be preserved;
Our flag still o'er us fly!
That cause our hearts and hands has nerved;
And we will do, or die." — GEORGE P. MORRIS.

IN company with the rest of the division, the First Regiment returned to its old camping-ground, between the Aquia-Creek Railroad and the Rappahannock River, Tuesday, Dec. 16.

The unbroken forest which the troops entered when they arrived from Fairfax Station had been considerably thinned by woodchoppers previous to the assault upon Fredericksburg, and the ground cleared of underbrush, so as to make it convenient to camp upon.

The attention of the regimental commanders was not immediately turned to winter-quarters, because it seems to have been Gen. Burnside's determination, should the weather prove favorable, to attempt the passage of the Rappahannock again, above or below the position held by Gen. Lee, and fall upon his right or left flank. Nevertheless, such of the soldiers as were camped in the open field built up for themselves temporary habitations of stones and sods, strengthened by whatever logs and strips of board they could col-

lect, making the whole of one end a fireplace ; and, by stretching their shelter-tents over the top, managed to secure a tolerable protection from the bleak winds and occasional snow-storms to which the region was subject.

In the course of a few days, the usual routine of camp life was resumed, comprising company and battalion drills, inspections, and dress-parades ; the latter always being held when the weather was favorable. Several changes were introduced by Col. McLaughlin, as being more in accordance with strict military usage ; one of which was the abandonment of the hollow-square formation following evening dress-parade, — to which the regiment had been accustomed, for greater ease and convenience in reading and listening to orders, and the regular devotional service, — and the retention of the companies in line at the “parade rest,” until the exercises terminated. He also awakened a salutary spirit of emulation among the men, by excusing from guard-duty for a month the six men of the regiment who, at any given inspection, had the cleanest guns, the brightest brasses, the neatest accoutrements, and the best-looking uniforms, and who made the most creditable and soldier-like appearance on parade.

He required his field and staff officers to accompany him through the companies while inspection was going on, and subjected every soldier to the most rigid scrutiny from top to toe. Not only were the careful rewarded, but the careless were punished. If a man had neglected to cut his hair or beard after being told to do so, or ventured to appear in line with unpolished gun-barrel, unscrubbed brasses, or unblackened boots, he received two or three days', or a week's, extra al-

lowance of guard-duty, to quicken his memory and increase his diligence.

About the same time, a new assignment of officers to companies was made, regulated, as far as possible, by seniority in the service ; and the companies were also located anew in the regimental line.

Picket-duty was arduous and trying on account of the condition of the roads, and the distance of the picket-line from camp. Instead of selecting a company from each regiment in the division, a whole regiment was sent out at once, leaving only men enough behind to do guard-duty while the others were gone. This method was much more popular among the men, as it kept regiments together, and did not compel the same regiment to send out a portion of its number every day. It also enabled the men to remain together in camp.

The picket-line was a considerable distance above Falmouth, extending across a country alternately open and heavily wooded ; and the roads to it, after the wet weather set in, became almost impassable to the troops, and quite so to heavily-loaded teams and artillery.

Christmas came and went in camp without any particular celebration. Owing to some misunderstanding between the War Department and the express companies, no boxes, parcels, or packages were brought to the troops from home ; so that, in observing the day, they were obliged to content themselves with what few things they could obtain of the regimental sutlers.

It was evident on the 1st of January, 1863, that the First Regiment could not remain long upon its first-selected camping-ground, and keep warm. The woods disappeared by the acre every week. There were from a hundred to a hundred and fifty fires kept

burning in every regiment all day ; some for the purpose of cooking, but most of them for comfort and of necessity. Several divisions had been compelled to move on this account ; and on Saturday, Jan. 3, the division of Gen. Sickles left its former camping-grounds, and proceeded a mile and a half to a range of hills on what was known as the Fitz-Hugh Estate, which were covered with a heavy growth of oak and pine timber, suitable for fire-wood and for the construction of log-huts. Here a regular camp was laid out in parallel company streets, up and down the hill, for the men ; while the officers' quarters occupied the ridge. The trees among which the tents were pitched were thinned out only enough to make room for their accommodation, and the rest left standing all winter as a protection against the winds. It took the men several weeks to get their quarters completed to their minds, inasmuch as it was very slow work, and had to be done at intervals, between drills, reviews, guard-mounting, and picket-duty. By the middle of January, they were all snugly housed (with the exception of a few who were sick while the house-building was going on), and were at liberty to burn as much wood as they chose to cut and bring home upon their shoulders. It was the quartermaster's aim to keep the camp so liberally supplied with this indispensable article, that the men might always find enough already cut close by their quarters ; but the condition of the roads, the severity of the weather, and the employment of the wagons in drawing subsistence and forage from the cars or the landing, sometimes prevented him from keeping the camp as well provided as he could have wished.

Monday, Jan. 5, Gen. Burnside began a series of

reviews of the army, preparatory to a movement of some sort against the enemy. The troops were numerous, in excellent condition, appeared well, and marched well ; but there was no enthusiasm among them, and, apparently, no heart for enterprises of any description. In the first place, they did not believe in undertaking an active campaign during the winter season, on account of the condition of the roads, the unsettled state of the weather, the necessity of camping out in the cold with no protection but a common shelter-tent, and the aggravated sufferings they must endure if wounded during such weather ; as well as the greater probabilities of freezing to death before being found and attended to. In the next place, a feeling existed that the Army of the Potomac was moved, not by the general under whose command it was placed, but by a junto of military officials at Washington, who had not always exhibited as much knowledge of the situation as they might have possessed had they been in the field ; and whose dictation or interference were serious drawbacks to the success of the army in whatever undertaking it might engage.

In the last place, it was believed that Gen. Burnside was placed in command of the army against his will ; that he found the position repugnant and irksome to him ; that he would gladly be relieved, and return to the command of the ninth corps, for which he was admirably fitted, but that Government insisted upon his remaining where he was ; and he was compelled to obey, or throw up his commission.

All these considerations weighed with the men, although they may not have been founded on any thing more substantial than their own imaginations ;

and the result was a lack of spirit, enthusiasm, and unity throughout the army. Several times, rumors flew through the camps that one brigade had revolted and thrown down their arms, or another had become mutinous and disorderly; but there never was any special and concerted outbreak, however much it may have been talked about in a desultory way.

Soon after the 1st of January, when President Lincoln issued his famous Proclamation of Emancipation, the writer had the good fortune to secure a number of copies for circulation among the men. It was a paper for which he had long waited, whose appearance he hailed with delight, and whose influence in deciding the doom of the Rebellion he felt to be potent and irresistible. It was better than many victories gained by gunpowder and battalions; being a declaration made for justice and righteousness. From the hour that that proclamation received the moral support of a majority of the people, he felt sure the fortunes of the rebels would begin to wane.

It was not only circulated among members of the regiment, but pinned up conspicuously upon the outside of the writer's tent, so that visitors might see it as they came into camp, and be reminded of the new era which had dawned not only upon the Union but upon mankind. The regiment took it much more kindly than they had taken considerable abolition preaching in former times, showing that the unanswerable logic of events had effected a change for the better.

✓ About this time, a regimental bakery was established, similar to the one formerly erected at Budd's Ferry. Instead of hard-bread, the commissary drew flour equal in value; and again the soldiers enjoyed nice

large loaves, that, for whiteness and relish, would rival the best productions of city bakeries. A large regimental fund was likewise accumulated, which supplied brushes, blacking, polishing-powder, and other articles not furnished by Government, greatly to the improvement of personal appearance throughout the command. Extra loaves were sold at a fixed price to men in other regiments, and it should be mentioned, to the credit of our own bakers, that, although there was another bakery in full blast at brigade headquarters, the bread turned out at the regimental establishment bore off the palm throughout the division.

Had our troops paid any attention to orders to prepare three or more days' rations, with sixty rounds of ammunition, and be ready to move at a moment's notice, while they were constructing their rude log-cabins and trying to make themselves comfortable, very few of them would have lived in any peace during the first part of the winter. Previous to the 16th of January, two such orders had been issued from army headquarters, the necessary reviews and inspections preliminary had been held, and every thing made ready for a move; but, for some reason unexplained, the orders had been countermanded. On the night of the 16th, the pontoons were brought from Belle Plain to Falmouth, and after dark, as secretly as possible, taken up the river about six miles.

On the 17th, an order was again transmitted to prepare the usual three-days' rations, and furnish the infantry with sixty cartridges apiece. The roads had not wholly dried, but were in such a condition that the engineers thought it safe to venture upon them. Gen. Burnside's forces had been largely increased by

recruits from the North, and by the return of convalescents and the slightly wounded; while Gen. Lee's had been somewhat reduced by the departure of various regiments drawn off to strengthen other places. Gens. Early, Hood, Walker, Ransom, McLaws, Anderson, and the two Hills, were at this time in command of divisions in the rebel army, making eight, of only four or five brigades apiece, and these very much diminished in number, and poorly furnished with material. An English officer who visited the rebel army at this period describes it as "an assemblage of tatterdemalions, rich mainly in rags, subsisting upon bacon, corn-meal, flour, and a little salt, without coffee, sugar, vegetables or fresh meat; living compactly in log-huts or underground excavations, swarming with vermin; lean, hungry, and shivering, but full of faith in their cause and of enthusiasm for their leaders; ready to suffer, willing to wait, and reliable in battle."

The Union army was all ready to move upon the 18th; but an order came postponing operations until further notice, which gave the rebels ample time to make such preparations as they chose for our reception. Every thing appertaining to headquarter affairs seems to have been known by them almost as quickly as it was promulgated in our own lines. Their pickets would ask ours what we were going to do with those three-days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition which had been served out, and occasionally shout the countersign across the water before it had been passed round to our own officers. They likewise insolently urged us to come over and try Fredericksburg again, as they were almost out of clothing, greenbacks, and provisions. It was said that a citizen of Falmouth

was arrested, in whose cellar was found a complete magnetic telegraph apparatus, connected with Fredericksburg by a wire running under the river, over which he was accustomed to send messages conveying important information which he had gathered within the Union lines, to the rebel leaders.

It was Gen. Burnside's intention to move his forces up the left bank of the Rappahannock, cross at the several fords simultaneously, come down the right bank upon Gen. Lee's left wing, and secure the rear of the Fredericksburg position before he had recovered from his surprise ; but, long before the van of Gen. Burnside's army appeared upon the bank, the rebels were busily engaged upon the opposite side, constructing rifle-pits and field-works for their batteries.

On Tuesday, Jan. 20, the order for an immediate start was issued, after waiting three days from its original promulgation. Camp was broken up in the afternoon, and, after several tedious delays, the line of march taken in the direction of Hartwood Church, due north of United-States Ford on the Rappahannock River, and ten miles above Falmouth. By some misunderstanding, Gen. Franklin's grand division had been directed to take the same road with Gen. Hooker's ; and as this caused them to be mixed up in inextricable confusion, a halt was ordered by Gen. Sickles, about dark, to allow Franklin's troops to pass. They came on rapidly enough, regiment after regiment, brigade after brigade, and division after division ; but they were so numerous, that the halt was prolonged for hours, until it extended far into the night. A cold north-easterly wind had arisen, accompanied by a fine, penetrating rain, which led the men to build fires

along the road in the deserted log-huts of former camping-grounds. Round these they hovered, stamping their feet, and moving about to keep warm. As it seemed that the forces of Gen. Franklin would not get by before midnight, the order was given for Gen. Sickles' command to return to camp, and make themselves comfortable until morning. It was obeyed with the utmost alacrity ; and in less than an hour the men were all snugly ensconced in their old regimental quarters, while the storm, which had increased in violence, sighed through the branches overhead, and poured torrents of rain upon their frail habitations.

A considerable number of Gen. Franklin's troops had kept closed up with the van of his advancing column during the night ; but the great majority had fallen out of the ranks by the roadside, wherever there seemed to be a sheltered place, and indignantly declared that they would not be marched at such a time and in such a manner by their officers, if they were court-martialed for insubordination. When soldiers come to such a determination, it is next to impossible to move them ; consequently, the roads were all night lined with stragglers from the left grand division.

At daybreak on the 21st, the *réveille* called the division to their feet again, breakfast was eaten in camp, the line formed at eight o'clock, and, in the midst of the rain, the march was resumed towards Hartwood Church. There was not a private in the ranks but felt we were trying to do what was utterly impossible ; and subsequent experience demonstrated that the instincts of the common soldier were more correct than the theories of some of the general officers.

The soil of the country was in such a state, that the

ten hours of rain which preceded the commencement of the march had transformed seemingly serviceable roads into impassable ditches, and swollen the brooks, which crossed them frequently between the hills, into rapid and formidable streams. Along these roads, horses and mules struggled and floundered, drawing much lighter loads than usual, covered with mud and perspiration, sending up clouds of vapor from their heated and reeking bodies, and breathing so violently whenever they stopped for rest, that the motion shook them from end to end like a convulsion. Some pieces of light artillery had double and even triple teams attached to them, twelve to eighteen animals being sometimes harnessed to a single gun, which even then they dragged through the adhesive mire at a snail's pace, requiring frequent assistance from the soldiers, who threw rails and branches from the trees across the worst places, and pried up the wheels when they sank so low as to be utterly immovable.

At the crossings of streams, where bridges had not been rendered indispensably necessary by the depth of the water, horses and mules were killed in their efforts to get over, or broke their legs, and had to be put out of their misery. Every mile presented some such scene, and the general difficulty of the advance greatly discouraged the troops. The infantry avoided the roads as much as possible, and picked their way over the hills and through the fields. Although they could get along, their progress was accomplished with extreme difficulty, as they were perpetually slipping back, and occasionally getting tripped up, or lifting their feet entirely out of their boots, leaving them buried twelve or fifteen inches in the mucilaginous

ooze. The scenes of perplexity and embarrassment exhibited along the line of march, partook so much more largely of the ludicrous than of the unendurable, however, that the soldiers reaped full as much pleasure as pain from their situation.

Arrived at the bank of the Rappahannock, our pickets found that the rebels were fully aware of their forlorn and uncomfortable condition, and disposed to make light of it by certain signs which they hung from the trees, informing all observers that "Gen. Burnside was stuck in the mud." They also volunteered to cross over and help us lay the pontoon bridges, and urged us to come across without delay, as they were greatly in want of provisions, clothing, and greenbacks. Meantime the pontoon-carriages and artillery-wheels, even when at rest, were sinking lower and lower in the mire, as the ground softened, and had to be extricated and placed upon platforms constructed for the purpose.

The regiment having reached as dry a spot as could be found near the appointed rendezvous, about noon went into bivouac for a few hours' rest, where it remained until two o'clock the next day, and was then ordered out to construct corduroy roads for the extrication of the wagons and batteries. It had been ascertained by our scouts that the rebels held the right bank of the Rappahannock in force opposite our position, that they had not only thrown up lines of rifle-pits and earthworks for their artillery, but had cut down trees all along the edge of the bank, making an impenetrable abatis covering the approach to every portion of their defences. With firm footing for the men, and solid ground for the artillery, it was felt that

this position might be stormed and carried, but, under the circumstances, that such an attempt would result only in disaster and defeat. The order was therefore issued to secure the withdrawal of the pontoons and batteries at once, and for the whole army to return to its former locality, and go into winter quarters. The return was accompanied by scenes even more amusing than any that transpired during the advance, as frequently, where the slough was particularly soft and deep, the men were compelled to proceed by single file, till some venturesome and impatient fellow would start out to find a better and shorter track, only to sink up to and even above his knees in mud, and become the butt of universal ridicule until he waded back into line again. Another, thinking he could leap a stream across which his comrades were plodding on some fallen tree or single plank, would just fail of reaching the opposite side, and drop souse into the water; scrambling out, with musket, knapsack, haversack, and clothes all dripping, greeted with roars of laughter for his exploit, and sundry jibes far from complimentary or soothing.

Although this undertaking led to no bloodshed, a number of troops were disabled by it, a considerable amount of property was wasted, and it increased the spirit of discontent and disaffection already prevalent throughout the army to such a degree that the removal of Gen. Burnside became an unavoidable necessity. The office, which was conferred upon him unsolicited and greatly to his surprise, and which he accepted with the utmost reluctance, he requested the President to relieve him of; and, much to his satisfaction, it was immediately done, and the command of the

Army of the Potomac conferred upon Gen. Joseph Hooker. At the same time, by order of the Secretary of War, Gens. Sumner and Franklin were relieved of their commands, and directed to report to the adjutant-general at Washington. Matters had been very squally at army headquarters for several weeks, and at one time a special order was promulgated, dismissing nine general and staff officers from the Army of the Potomac, for the use of language having a tendency to demoralize the soldiers and injure the service. President Lincoln was unwilling to approve of such a wholesale decapitation, and, after consulting with his advisers, finally accepted the resignation of Gen. Burnside, relieved Gens. Sumner and Franklin, and made Gen. Hooker the principal commander.

Gen. Hooker was born in 1816, in Massachusetts, went to West Point in 1833, distinguished himself during the war with Mexico, and entered the service again immediately after the fall of Sumter. His appointment was popular among the soldiers, who had given him the *sobriquet* of "Fighting Joe Hooker," because in battle he was always to be found at the post of danger. This title originated after one of the engagements in which he participated, from its insertion by a reporter at the head of one of his despatches. It was never acceptable to the general, as it seemed to indicate a man who was rash, pugnacious, vindictive, and devoid of the caution and foresight indispensable to good generalship.

The grand-division arrangement of the army was at once abolished by Gen. Hooker, and the old corps organization restored in its place. Gens. Reynolds, Couch, Sickles, Meade, Sedgwick, Sigel, and Slocum,

were placed in command of the first, second, third, fifth, sixth, eleventh, and twelfth corps respectively, the cavalry consolidated into one corps under Gen. Stoneman, and each corps was supplied with its own independent artillery, no batteries being transferred from one corps to another, except by authority of the chief of artillery. The quartermaster's and commissary departments of the army received special attention from Gen. Hooker, and such life was infused into these branches of the service, through his persistent endeavors, that not a private in the army but was better clothed, fed, and provided for, as the result. He likewise imparted to the cavalry such spirit, unity, and efficiency, as to make it one of the most formidable arms of the service.

The winter months which followed the mud march were unhealthy, and a considerable number of soldiers sickened and died in the regimental, division, and corps hospitals attached to the army.

Tuesday night, Feb. 3, Corporal John F. Getchell of Company A, First Regiment, passed away, and was buried the next morning close by the hospital tent. He was an excellent soldier, and possessed the confidence of his officers, and the affection of his comrades. He was not only brave in battle, but had the moral courage to refuse all indulgence in intoxicating liquor, and to abstain from gambling and profanity. At the same time he was unobtrusive and obliging, ready at all times to assist a brother-soldier if it was within the scope of his ability, and inflexibly firm in his own determination to be governed by honor and principle.

Before daybreak on the morning of Thursday, Feb. 5, the members of the regiment were roused from their

slumbers by orders to pack up instantly, and proceed in light marching order towards Hartwood Church. It was snowing hard at the time, the ground was frozen stiff, and the men were not a little concerned to know what this sudden call in mid-winter might portend. They took a westerly direction, and continued marching all day, making about twelve miles before dark. The storm not only continued, but increased, until the ground was covered with snow to the depth of several inches. The weather then moderated, and it began to rain. In the midst of the rain the troops bivouacked in the woods. The next morning they proceeded four miles farther, and came to a halt close by one of the fords of the Rappahannock. They learned there that a strong cavalry force had gone farther up, to destroy a bridge at Rappahannock Station, and they were located at the ford to prevent any attempt by the enemy to cut off their retreat.

The expedition was completely successful. The rebels had succeeded in constructing the bridge after considerable trouble, and were just crossing a body of cavalry, when a volley from the Union carbines emptied several of their saddles, and arrested their progress, and another compelled them to beat a precipitate retreat. After falling back, they re-formed, bringing down a column of infantry for support, and re-attempted to come across, but a second time received such a destructive fire as to render it impossible, when again they retired. The Union cavalry then rode upon the bridge, at which the rebels began to destroy the other end. Seeing they could not get over, our cavalry likewise aided in the work of its demolition, and it was speedily on fire from end to end.

No demonstration was attempted by the enemy at either of the fords, and, after the accomplishment of their work, the cavalry withdrew without molestation. The infantry and light batteries followed them at sunrise, on the 7th, reaching their former camps at three o'clock in the afternoon.

About the first of the month, the regiment was called upon to part with Surgeon Richard H. Salter, who had retained his post from its departure for the seat of war until this time. Surgeon Salter, by his urbane and gentlemanly manners, his kind treatment of the men, his correct deportment, and his fair and honorable dealing, had won the good opinion of the soldiers, and was parted from with regret. His place was filled, after considerable delay, by Surgeon Edward A. Whiston, who had been assistant surgeon of the Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment since its formation, and was promoted upon the recommendation of the medical directors of the third corps and the Army of the Potomac. Surgeon Whiston remained in this position through all the subsequent campaigns of the First Regiment, and was finally mustered out with the other officers, in May, 1864.

During this month, the First Regiment received an honor from Gen. Hooker which was shared by only two other Massachusetts regiments in the Army of the Potomac. Determined to secure, if possible, a perfect condition of arms, quarters, accoutrements, and uniforms among his soldiers, he ordered a careful and thorough inspection of every regiment by Lieut.-Col. Parks, a member of his staff, who should take notes, and report the result of his examinations at headquarters; promising to increase the number of furloughed officers and

men in deserving regiments, and threatening to take away the furlough privilege from such regiments as proved worthy of censure on account of neglect. The inspection was accordingly held, and proved very rigid in every particular. Guns, clothing, tents, cook-houses, stables, company-streets, hospitals, every thing entered into the estimate. When the result was announced, of over one hundred and fifty regiments in the army, it was found that only eleven were deemed worthy of special commendation, among which eleven, three were from Massachusetts, viz., the First, Second, and Twentieth.

The weather during January and February was a succession of snow and rain storms, interspersed with mild and balmy days, which made locomotion next to impossible, whether on foot, on horseback, or in wagons. Corduroy roads were accordingly constructed from corps to corps, extending from the sixth corps, on the the extreme left, to the eleventh, on the extreme right; and branching from them to the various stations on the Aquia-Creek Railroad, or to the landing on the Potomac River. These roads required an enormous amount of fatigue-duty, and consumed an immense quantity of timber. Forest trees were cut down for miles in every direction, and a vast stretch of woodland left with nothing but blackened stumps. Because an effort was made to relieve the First of an unfair amount of this exhausting labor, the regiment was compelled to go oftener and work harder than ever. That was the way in which some persons exercised the little brief authority with which they were intrusted, and which they had sworn to employ without prejudice to the service.

Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, was celebrated in

camp by a national salute from all the batteries, unaccompanied by any military display, as the day was raw and cold, and the snow a foot deep. It was very significant that the Union guns should honor the name and memory of Washington, so near the homestead of his father, while the rebel artillery which commanded that homestead did not fire a single round.

Wednesday, Feb. 25, Stuart's cavalry made a dash across the Rappahannock, and attempted to reach Potomac Creek, for the purpose of destroying the high railroad bridge erected there, capturing supplies left at the station for the hospital, and doing such other mischief as might be possible. They found our cavalry on the alert, however, and a sanguinary conflict ensued, which resulted in the rebels being defeated and driven back with considerable loss in killed and wounded, and fifty men taken prisoners. Our loss was only forty killed and wounded. As this bridge was invaluable to Gen. Hooker, to secure it against further assaults he ordered the erection of strong redoubts on the contiguous hills, in which heavy guns were placed, sweeping the approaches at all points of the compass.

On the 12th of March, a raid was made by the enemy upon Fairfax Court House ; and with such celerity and secrecy did they conduct their operations, that they penetrated the town, took Brig.-Gen. Stoughton out of his bed at midnight, surprised a detachment of his brigade, captured men and horses, secured all the booty the town contained, and decamped before the Union guards fully realized the mischance which had befallen them.

On the 17th of March, a desperate struggle took place between our cavalry under Gen. Averill, and a

similar force of the enemy, near Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, during which the Union troopers, having practised a long time at the sabre exercise, and sharpened their weapons for this special occasion, charged upon the rebels at full gallop, and cut down nearly every man in their front line. The wounds were so ghastly, and the blood flowed in such torrents, that the enemy turned and fled in disorder to their intrenchments. The conflict raged from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon.

Our loss was less than fifty, while that of the enemy was much greater, including eighty prisoners. Among the mortally wounded was Adjutant Nathaniel Bowditch, only son of Dr. Bowditch, of Boston, a young man of great promise and rare personal endowments.

During the months of March and April, the occupants of Fredericksburg displayed considerable activity in repairing the ruin made by the bombardment of the previous December. Streets were cleared of their litter, shot-holes plugged, tottering chimneys pulled down, walls mended, breaches filled up, and leaky roofs made water-tight. Many of the inhabitants also returned, and resumed their former mode of life as much as possible.

On the night of April 4, in the midst of a driving snow-storm, another member of the regiment died in camp, namely, Corporal James M. Hulme, of Company F. He was a quiet and reserved man, of thoughtful spirit and earnest nature, faithful in the discharge of his duties, so much so as to hasten his death by exposure to the weather during the completion of the corduroy roads.

Assistant Surgeon Monroe having been commis-

sioned surgeon of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment, stationed at Falmouth in December of 1862, Dr. Neil K. Gunn, of Boston, was sent on from Massachusetts to be second assistant surgeon of the First Regiment, and arrived in camp on the 21st of March. At the same time Lieut. John McDonough was commissioned captain, Second Lieut. John S. Clark was made first lieutenant, Commissary Sergeant Harrison Hinckley was made second lieutenant, Lieut. Forrester A. Pelby was made captain, Second Lieut. John S. Willey was made first lieutenant, Sergeant Rufus M. Meguire was made second lieutenant, Second Lieut. George Myrick was made first lieutenant, and Sergeant Edward G. Tutien was made second lieutenant. A large number of promotions took place likewise among the non-commissioned officers and privates, by which many worthy men and excellent soldiers were advanced one grade.





CHAPTER XIV.

BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

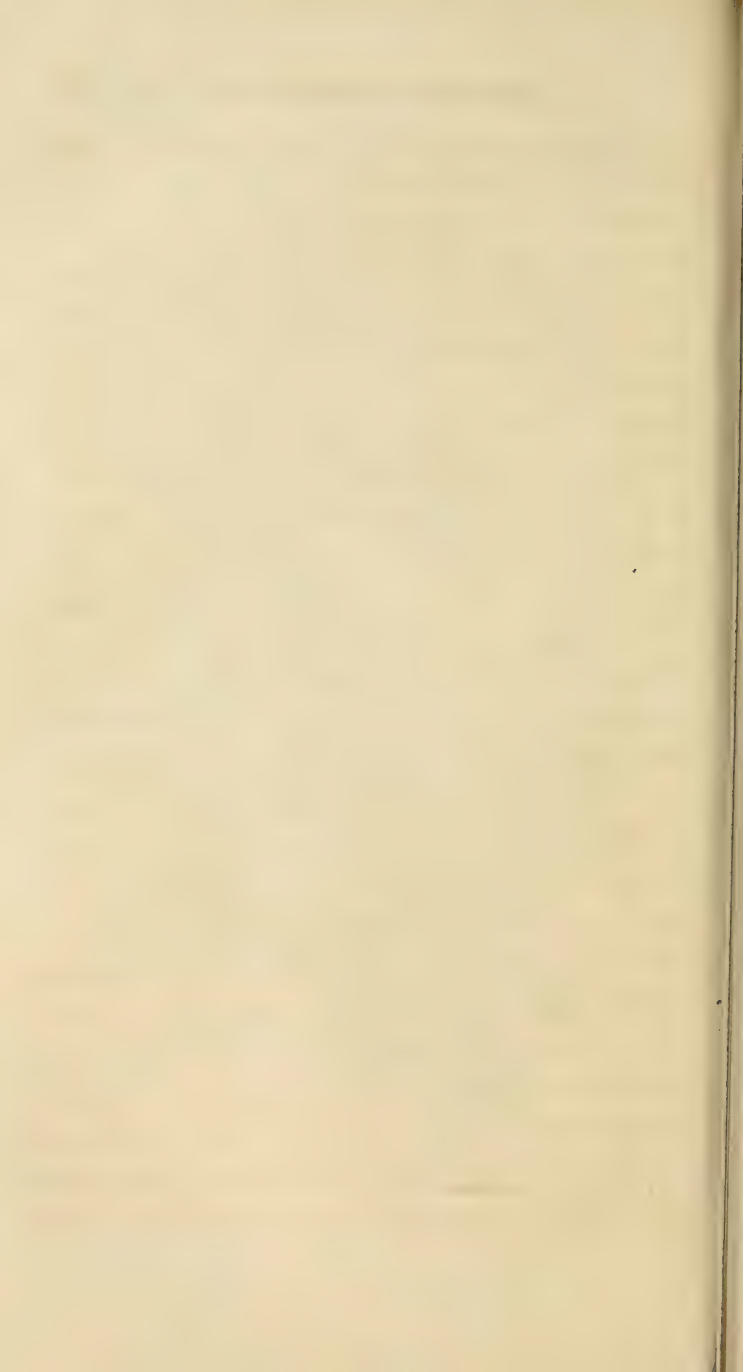
“ The midnight brought the signal sound of strife;
The morn, the marshalling in arms; the day,
Battle’s magnificently stern array!
The thunder-cloud closed o’er it, which, when rent,
The earth is covered thick with other clay,
Which her own clay shall cover; heaped and pent,
Rider and horse — friend, foe — in one red burial blent.”

BYRON.

GREAT reviews were held in the Army of the Potomac in April, preliminary to an attack upon Gen. Lee; at one of which, on the 9th of April, President Lincoln and wife, Secretary Seward, several gentlemen and ladies from Washington, and all the general officers of the army were present. Great preparations were made for it several days previously, by filling ditches, removing stumps, draining quagmires, and cutting down ridges liable to impede the movements of the soldiers. The ground was measured and carefully staked out, so that there might be as little friction as possible, and nearly the whole of the large plain in the rear of Falmouth appropriated for the occasion. An immense number of infantry and artillery were present, the cavalry having been reviewed previously, who presented a magnificent spectacle as they moved with quick step by the President and Gen. Hooker, their banners unfurled, and their weapons glittering in the



CAPTURE OF FREDERICKSBURG HEIGHTS, DURING THE BATTLE



sun ; and it seemed at the time that they must be equal to any thing required of them.

As soon as possible after the reviews were concluded, the advance upon the enemy began. On the 13th of April, the cavalry corps of Gen. Stoneman proceeded to Warrenton, Bealton, Rappahannock Bridge, and Liberty, to reconnoitre the country, and ascertain if possible the position and strength of the enemy's forces. Meeting with no opposition except from small scouting parties of partisan rangers, they proceeded to the fords of the Rapidan River, and took possession of them. It was Gen. Hooker's intention to follow with the main body of his army as soon as possible, crossing below the cavalry, and depending upon their vigilance and efficiency to keep the vicinity of the fords clear of rebel sharp-shooters and light batteries.

Very stormy weather ensued, however, which was so violent and lasted so long as to prevent any movement until the 27th of April.

The rebels held a line in the rear of Fredericksburg, extending from Port Royal, on the Rappahannock, below, to a point five or six miles from the city, above. They were poorly supplied with provisions and clothing, and numbered only seventy thousand men. Gen. Hooker's forces were divided into seven corps of infantry, one of cavalry, and a reserve of artillery, all well clothed and well supplied, numbering one hundred and twenty thousand men. His plan was to mass three of his corps upon the plains below Fredericksburg, make a feint of attack, so as to draw the enemy's attention in that direction, and then move rapidly to all the fords crossing the Rappahannock above, gain the other side, and force the rebels to give him

battle in the rear of their intrenchments, or fall back upon Richmond.

On Monday morning, April 27, the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth corps broke camp, and took the roads leading in the direction of Kelly's Ford. They arrived Tuesday forenoon, crossed the river without difficulty, in course of the next two days, marched over the interval between the Rappahannock and the Rapidan, gained the other side, and proceeded rapidly down the river road towards Chancellorsville, at the junction of the Orange Court House road with the road to Culpepper, about five miles from United-States Ford. Here the three corps were massed, on the night of April 30, having encountered only the pickets of the enemy, who fled at their approach.

The second corps, under Gen. Couch, took position at Banks' Ford, five miles above Fredericksburg, on Wednesday, while the first, third, and sixth proceeded down the river to a little above Port Royal. The First Regiment received the order to move on Monday, April 27. Each man was to have three days' cooked rations in his haversack, five days' small supplies — such as sugar, coffee, salt, and hard-bread — in his knapsack, and sixty rounds of ammunition in his cartridge-box and pockets. The men were greatly troubled at being loaded down so heavily; and large numbers threw away the bulk of their rations, during the next three days, finding it utterly impossible to keep up with their comrades, and carry such a heavy weight upon their persons. Tuesday afternoon, April 28, the whole division left camp and took the road leading down the river to the point where Gen. Franklin crossed during the preceding December.

It was six o'clock before the regiment started ; and, owing to the darkness of the night and the crowded condition of the roads, progress was so slow that it took four hours to proceed three miles.

Early the next morning another start was made, to a position where the division could act as a support to a portion of the sixth corps, in crossing the river.

Before daybreak the pontoon boats, to the number of twenty-three, were in the water, ready to receive their occupants. A part of Gen. Russell's brigade was detailed for this service, composed mainly of New-York and Pennsylvania troops. Precisely at half-past four, A.M., every boat left the bank, and made for the opposite side. A thick mist hung over the river, which obscured objects from view at a few yards' distance, and favored the design of the intrepid voyagers. As rapidly as they could force the clumsy vessels through the water, they approached the rebel side, and were soon lost to view. In a few minutes more a volley was heard from the enemy's rifle-pits, showing that Gen. Russell's men had effected a landing and gained the bank. The boats, coming back empty, were immediately filled again with reënforcements, upon whose arrival a line was formed, bayonets fixed, and a charge ordered upon the rebel intrenchments. They were captured, after a feeble resistance, and one officer taken prisoner. At the same time, from every church steeple in Fredericksburg the bells began an angry clamor, for the purpose of alarming the inhabitants, and informing the rebels quartered in the vicinity that the Union troops had effected the passage of the Rappahannock, and again threatened their works in front. Both sides of the river being now in our pos-

session, the pontoons were expeditiously laid, and our troops began to cross over.

Simultaneously with the passage of Banks' Ford by the second corps, Gen. Stoneman started with his cavalry to gain the rear of Gen. Lee's army, destroy his communications with Richmond, burn the bridges on his lines of retreat, and demolish such munitions of war as might fall into his hands. His force was subdivided into three columns, under Gens. Buford, Averill, and himself, who performed their work expeditiously and thoroughly, breaking up the James-River canal, setting fire to three large trains of provisions in the rear of Gen. Lee's position, blowing up culverts, burning commissary's supplies, destroying bridges, mills, vessels, and depots, driving the rebel pickets before them, capturing and paroling over three hundred men, and bringing in large numbers of fresh horses, with a loss of only one lieutenant and thirty men.

The First remained in the woods below Falmouth, in column of regiments with the rest of the brigade, all day on the 29th. Towards evening it became cloudy, and the rain fell all night. The next day, at noon, marching was resumed through the valleys and byways, so as to be concealed from the enemy, and continued until after dark. The command then went into bivouac, not far from United-States Ford, and remained until nearly twelve o'clock the next day. The rest of the division preceded them at seven o'clock, leaving them as rear guard to a long train of wagons, loaded with ammunition and supplies. These frequently got mired on the way to United-States Ford, and required constant assistance to get along.

The ford was crossed at one o'clock, and after a short halt in an abandoned rebel camp, the regiment joined the brigade within a short distance of the Chancellorsville House, then occupied by Gen. Hooker as his headquarters.

It was customary among the first families of Virginia, owning large tracts of arable land, to build spacious homesteads on some eligible site near the centre of their domains, surrounding them with the indispensable negro huts, which invariably cluster together in vicinity of "the great house." In course of time a store, a blacksmith's shop, and a few other dwellings would be added to the original structure, making a settlement of fifty or a hundred persons. Such was Chancellorsville. The Chancellors had constructed a commodious habitation at the junction of several roads crossing their estate, and named it after themselves. Negro cabins and a few other houses had been erected in the neighborhood, containing less than fifty inhabitants; and this was the famous locality about which raged one of the most furious and sanguinary battles of the war.

At noon, Friday, May 1, portions of the fifth and twelfth corps were advanced beyond Chancellorsville, in the direction of Fredericksburg. Before two o'clock they came upon the enemy posted across the road, and occupying a strong line of intrenchments stretching into the woods a long distance on both sides. The rebels opened a heavy fire upon the advancing column, which continued nearly an hour, running from left to right along the whole line. By order of Gen. Hooker the Union troops then fell back to their original position. The enemy soon after followed, engaging

Gen. Sykes's skirmishers in the woods, and, upon their falling back in accordance with orders, emerging upon the open plain, yelling, leaping, and shouting like savages. They were received with a point-blank discharge of five thousand muskets, which at once arrested their progress and threw them into momentary confusion. But those in the rear, who had not felt the Union lead, were not to be kept back by the broken advance; so onward they pressed, unappalled and resolute, until a second volley was sent whizzing into their midst, before which they quailed and came to a halt. Their numbers had been so thinned and weakened that they began to be dismayed. They were just upon the point of falling back, when they were re-enforced; and, under the lead of their officers, who raved and stormed and shouted and exposed themselves, in utter disregard of life and limb, they again came forward. Their advance exposed them to the fire of our artillery, three batteries of which had been posted upon a hill overlooking most of the field they occupied. Aiming above the heads of the Union soldiers, our gunners planted shell and spherical case directly in the midst of the enemy, opening huge gaps wherever the missiles exploded, and tearing their lines apart in various places with terrific violence. For nearly half an hour both sides stood facing each other, loading and firing at will, equally determined not to yield; the rebels using no artillery, but exposed to a fearfully destructive fire from the Federal batteries. It then became apparent that they would not remain in line, in spite of every exertion their officers might make; and, the volleys from the Union front becoming more rapid and deadly, they retreated hastily back into the

woods, followed by the shouts of the victors, who were less than a tenth portion of the army Gen. Hooker had under his command.

Just as they were retiring, the Massachusetts First was double-quickened up to the left, on the line of the Banks'-Ford Road, in light marching order. Knapsacks had been unslung at the rear, in expectation of an immediate engagement; but, just as the right company reached the battle-field, the order was given, "By division into line — march!" followed by, "Close column by division on first division!" to which succeeded, "Prepare to stack arms!" and, "Stack — arms! — Rest!" The companies were then sent back, one at a time, for their knapsacks; and the men prepared to bivouac, for the night, behind their stacks. They remained undisturbed till the next afternoon.

A movement had been observed in the woods by our pickets, which indicated that the rebels were falling back on Gordonsville, or intended to attack the Union right. To ascertain their intentions a reconnoissance was ordered, under Gen. Sickles, which developed the fact that the whole of Stonewall Jackson's division was massing upon the right of our army for an assault. Before Jackson could get his troops together, however, Gen. Birney charged them, cutting his column in two while it was still moving along the road. Pursuing his advantage, a flank movement, under Gen. Berry, was made upon the rebel right, which met with complete success. The rebel skirmishers were forced back two miles behind the shelter of their intrenchments, and fifty prisoners captured belonging to the Twenty-third Georgia.

It was now supposed that Jackson would retire.

A division of Gen. Slocum's corps was accordingly advanced at four o'clock, which had a sharp conflict with some of his regiments, but was handled so roughly that it fell back in disorder. An aide from Slocum dashed up to Gen. Hooker to ask for reënforcements. The answer was that he must hold his own, but should be supported on the right by Gen. Howard, and along the centre by artillery. Geary's division was immediately manœuvred so as to gain the right of the plank road, and the batteries swept back the columns of the enemy on the left, thus preserving the centre intact.

At the same time Gen. Howard ordered forward his divisions to form a line upon Gen. Birney's flank. One brigade succeeded, and reported accordingly. The rest of the corps met the rebels in line of battle on the way, and both sides opened a spirited fire of musketry. The German regiments fought gallantly for a while; but, losing some of their officers, who had been wounded or killed, they shortly began to waver, and, upon receiving a charge from the enemy, who advanced with shouts of defiance and yells of derision, they fell back. Gen. Howard at once perceived the danger, and boldly threw himself into the breach. But, one man cannot be at all places on a line of battle at once. His presence everywhere had an inspiring influence, and temporarily checked the rout. Such a movement once begun is of all things on earth the hardest to arrest.

The shattered columns streamed back to the rear like an irresistible torrent. One might as well have attempted to stem a tornado. The fugitives were panic-stricken and beside themselves; would run away, must run away, and did run away, as fast as possible. The

rebels were close upon their heels, keeping up a tremendous fire of musketry; screaming and hooting in an unearthly manner, and crowding along in a dense mass, as if determined to sweep every thing before them. Upon an open area, containing less than one hundred acres, were gathered batteries, battery-wagons, ambulances, caissons, and cavalry teams, covering the ground in one dense throng. In among these plunged riderless and frightened cavalry horses, stampeding the animals, and infecting some of the men with their own terror; jumbling and tumbling things together in indiscriminate and lamentable confusion, and making such a perfect bedlam that orders were heeded no more than the wind.

Gen. Sickles, who was on the spot with two divisions of his corps, immediately sent for the other, and, forming his men across the line of retreat pursued by the panic-stricken Germans, told them they must retrieve the day. At the same time he ordered Gen. Pleasanton to extricate such of the batteries as he could use from the small farm on the hill-top, open them upon the enemy, and support the cannoneers with his mounted men.

He had barely time to make his dispositions of infantry and artillery, when the rebels came on. They received a series of rapid and destructive volleys, accompanied with incessant discharges from the artillery, which at once checked their advance, drowned their shrill whooping and the roll of their musketry, and laid hundreds of them bleeding on the ground.

Those who were behind, however, still pressed forward, raising again, at intervals between the roar of battle, their boyish, piping cries, and pressing forward even within pistol-shot of our lines. They met there,

however, the veterans of the war ; men who had fought with them at Centreville, Williamsburg, Glendale, and Chantilly, and men who were not to be intimidated by their shouts, their bullets, or their charges. They formed in close ranks along the front, and came on with the terrific volleys for which Jackson's men were always famous, receiving our infantry fire without breaking, and closing up the dreadful gaps made by our canister in their crowded battalions ; obstinately they strove to continue their triumphant progress, no matter what the hazard or the cost. But they found it impossible to advance further, and every moment increased the number and efficiency of our batteries, which made frightful havoc in their close ranks. Darkness had also approached, and the woods being full of smoke, made them fire wildly ; and, as there was danger that they might now be attacked on both flanks, they finally retired, having accomplished their object only in part : one of our lines of battle was broken, and our advance checked.

As it would not do to have our front continue disconnected until morning, a portion of Gen. Birney's division made a night attack, with infantry and artillery, upon the enemy before them, and forced them back half a mile. This restored communication in all directions, but compelled Gen. Hooker to contract his front, and to act upon the defensive. The rest of the night was spent in the construction of breast-works in the woods, and rifle-pits and infantry-covers along the roads and fields, which, before the next morning, presented a formidable appearance all round the position.

After Stonewall Jackson had broken through the eleventh corps, and driven them back beyond the

plank road, he and his officers supposed that they held it undisputed. Soon after dark, accordingly, a teamster was sent with a couple of mules to get a caisson which had broken down by the roadside. As he approached the works held by the First Regiment, he was halted, and ordered to the rear. A couple of officers, also, or scouts, were captured in a similar manner, and sent back. The enemy were mistaken in supposing that they held this road, for it was still in our hands. Acting on the supposition that they did hold it, however, Stonewall Jackson, with several members of his staff, rode along about nine o'clock, in the bright moonlight, to reconnoitre the locality. The soldiers of the First Regiment saw the group of horsemen approaching, — not knowing that Stonewall Jackson was one of them, of course, — and greeted them with a volley as soon as they came within range. One of the horsemen was Stonewall Jackson himself, and he being severely wounded, the whole group turned and fled. If, as the rebels claimed, he had been fired upon by one of his own regiments, why did his staff turn and flee?

He was struck by three balls, wounding both arms; two of his staff were wounded, and two orderlies killed. As he was being carried to the rear, one of his stretcher-bearers was shot down, giving the wounded general a severe fall and contusion, injuring his side, and complicating the fracture of his arm, so that he sank under his injuries, and died in less than a week. Jeff. Davis having declared that the death of Stonewall Jackson was a greater loss to the Southern cause than would be a whole division of the rank and file, the credit of inflicting such a serious blow should be allowed to

those to whom it is due ; and, had the First Regiment accomplished no more in their three-years' service than the single achievement here referred to, they would not have enlisted, marched, and fought in vain.

During the night of Saturday, May 2, the rebels made frequent attacks upon our lines, apparently trying to find a weak spot where they could break through ; but the skirmishers were constantly on the alert, and drove them back on every occasion, with loss.

Soon after daylight on the 3d, which was Sunday, the rebels came on in overwhelming numbers against the position held by Gens. Sickles and Slocum, bent apparently upon its capture, be the cost what it might. The conflict that ensued was terrible. More than forty thousand combatants were engaged at once ; the rebels approaching nearer and nearer to the Union works, in utter disregard of the fire which hurled whole battalions to the earth, until it became like advancing against a solid wall of lead and iron to move another step ; then they stood in the road and fields, or took to the trees, and delivered their volleys by brigades and divisions all at once. Without the slightest intermission or suspension of sound, as though thousands of muskets and rifles were discharged simultaneously, the roll of small-arms echoed through the forest peal upon peal, interspersed with deafening rounds from the batteries, whose heavy guns were fired with marvellous rapidity, and whose thundering detonations, mingled with the crash of solid shot among the trees, the bursting of shells, the spiteful patter of canister-balls against men, horses, trees, branches, or any thing else that chanced to be hit, rose in awful distinctness and volume far

above all the angry clamor of battle, and seemed to shake the solid earth with their overwhelming concussions.

It was amazing to observe how little the enemy seemed to heed the slaughter caused among them, and how irresistibly and furiously determined they appeared to force back our lines. They absolutely tumbled over each other's bodies in their eagerness to get ahead; fired kneeling and lying down; and even climbed trees, so as to pick off Union officers in the rear. Notwithstanding all their efforts, they were kept at bay over four hours, and would have been all day, but, unfortunately, the Union ammunition gave out. The fire of infantry and artillery gradually slackened, and finally almost ceased. The rebels, in the beginning, could not comprehend it. They saw our men fix bayonets, and doubtless supposed, at first, that they were going to charge upon them. But in a few moments they were undeceived; for the whole of the front centre began to fall back upon the second line of battle. They quickly perceived how matters stood, and hastened to improve the advantage.

Holding the same line of works with the First Regiment was a body of men from Maryland. As the enemy advanced with bolder front than usual, these fell back and took refuge near the second line of battle, in the rear. Their position was immediately occupied by the rebels, who poured an enfilading fire down the division front, rendering the breastwork utterly untenable, and throwing another regiment into confusion on the right, compelling the First to withdraw, or be butchered or taken prisoners of war. They were ordered to withdraw accordingly. The killed and

wounded were left, of necessity, and about thirty captured, who were too late to fall back with their comrades. The rest went to the rear some five or six hundred yards, and formed another line of battle across the road leading to United-States Ford from Chancellorsville. Immediately upon gaining this space, the rebels planted their artillery upon it, and vigorously shelled the several lines of battle in front which remained unbroken, throwing the fiery projectiles into the hospitals among wounded and dying men, some of whom were their own troops. Perceiving that any farther advance would be impossible, without a repetition of the process which had cost them so dearly earlier in the day, at twelve o'clock the infantry retired, leaving only a strong line of skirmishers to hold the ground they had gained.

During the cannonading of the morning, a solid shot struck one of the columns of the Chancellorsville House, against which Gen. Hooker was at the time leaning, and prostrated him to the earth. He was only stunned by the shock, however, and soon recovered himself again. Shortly after, a shell entered the dwelling, exploded, and set it on fire. Some females had retired to the cellar for safety, who were compelled to come out by this accident, and, in the midst of a terrific cannonade, to fly to the rear. They were members of the Chancellor family. The fire caused them the loss of every thing except what they had on, including house, furniture, library, dresses, jewels, plate, paintings, and keepsakes. They were treated courteously by our troops, carried across the river in an ambulance, and there regaled with a breakfast of hard-bread, pork, and coffee, of which they partook with

avidity; and finally were conveyed, by their own request, to the house of a friend in the neighborhood of Falmouth.

The sixth corps, under Gen. Sedgwick, had been left in front of Fredericksburg, with orders to charge upon the heights after the enemy had become well engaged at Chancellorsville; and, if successful in carrying them, to come up in the rear of Lee from Fredericksburg, and make an assault. Accordingly, at four o'clock in the morning, Sunday, May 3, the head of the corps began to move towards the rebel city.

Before entering the streets of the town, the Federal batteries were brought up, and planted so as to command the hostile works; sharpshooters took positions convenient for their operations; and a vigorous fire of rifled cannon opened the conflict. The rebels replied at once, showing that they were in considerable force, and determined not to be driven from their intrenchments if they could hold them. A few earthworks in front and along the flanks of the main fortification had been abandoned; but for six hours of continuous fighting, they held the crest of the hill, firing as rapidly as they dared to load their guns while in plain sight of the Union riflemen. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, Gen. Sedgwick determined to charge the heights. Col. Burnham's light brigade was accordingly ordered forward, while another force, at the right of the dreaded stone wall, cleared the way of skirmishers and marksmen. Throwing aside their knapsacks, and whatever else might impede rapidity of motion, or ease in climbing, they took position directly before that angle on the plain known as "the slaughter-pen," where the rebels could concentrate their most

galling and deadly fire. The Union artillery, at the same time, opened with solid shot and shell, aiming over their heads, and planting their heavy balls in the enemy's first line of earthworks with admirable precision. To this fire the rebels made no reply, showing that they knew what was coming, and were reserving their ammunition for surer work at shorter range. They had not long to wait; for in twenty minutes from the time the men began to form, they were moving steadily forward, as it seemed, right into the jaws of death. No sooner had they reached the open plain than the rebel guns vomited forth rapid discharges of canister and shell, smiting many a gallant fellow to the earth, and covering the plain with fleecy masses of smoke, which hid both the works and storming-party momentarily from observation, and caused thousands of spectators in Falmouth, and on the hills around the city, to hold their breath with suspense. In another instant, the battle-shroud was lifted, and the light brigade was seen steadily advancing, on the double-quick, across the thousand feet or more separating them from the stone wall. Knowing what a tempest of destruction the intrepid fellows were facing down there, it made the eyes moisten involuntarily, and the body thrill from head to foot, to hear their battle-cry rising above the thunder of the conflict, and to see their line go onward with unbroken regularity, leaving here a man or two, and there a dozen, killed or crippled and writhing with pain,—onward still, never faltering,—and the stone wall was reached! Here the worst was by no means over; for its steep face, which afforded partial protection, must be scaled, and the whole person exposed upon the plain above, every inch of which

was swept by a perfect tornado of missiles, coming from the front and left wing of the rebel position. But they were not to be driven back now. It was hardly the work of a moment to climb the wall, and form on the bluff. Then, with a cheer, they dashed on to the rebel embankments, jumped upon the ramparts, poured through the embrasures, drove the rebel infantry pell-mell from the position, captured guns and cannoneers where they stood, and, precisely as the clocks of Fredericksburg tolled out the hour of twelve, unfurled the banner of beauty and glory from the stronghold which had so long defied the power of the Union arms.

The guns captured were those of the famous Washington artillery, of New Orleans, which had played such a prominent part in the Rebellion from the first Bull Run until this assault. As our troops leaped over the parapet, and plunged in among them, one of their gunners cried out, —

“ Who are these men ? ”

“ We are Yankees ! ” was the response, with an expletive.

“ What do you think of our fighting now ? ” asked one of the storming-party.

To this no reply was vouchsafed ; but the captain of the artillery remarked, —

“ You have captured the best battery in the Confederate service.”

Immediately upon taking the first line of earth-works, an advance in force was made upon those in the rear, which were carried with but slight loss ; and the regiments of Gen. Howe's division were scattered over the hills in pursuit of the enemy.

Here occurred the greatest mistake made during the battle. Gen. Howe's division was not allowed to remain in the works, but ordered to join the other divisions, which had gone on beyond the city to fall upon Gen. Lee's rear. No sooner had they done so, than, as might have been expected, the rebel fugitives, who had scattered down the roads and through the woods, rallied again, regained and re-occupied the works for which we had just paid such a fearful price, and began to mass their forces for an assault upon Sedgwick's rear and left.

A few miles out of Fredericksburg, the head of the sixth corps encountered a large body of the enemy, under Gen. McLaws, strongly posted, who arrested their progress, and kept them occupied from five o'clock in the afternoon until nightfall. At night, Gen. Lee threw out a strong force of skirmishers in front of his position, opposite to Gen. Hooker, and fell back to effect a junction with McLaws, and the next morning crush Sedgwick, or drive him into the river. Had Gen. Hooker penetrated this ruse, all would have gone well. Gen. Lee ventured every thing during this movement; but thereby gained his point, and remained master of the field. On the morning of Monday, the 4th, Sedgwick had a strong force of the enemy in front of him, another in the rear, and another on his left flank. At four o'clock in the afternoon, they charged upon his lines.

From batteries posted so as to sweep every direction, he poured a destructive fire into their closed columns, checking and driving them back in confusion beyond the range of his shot. Again and again they re-formed, again and again advanced, closed in

mass, notwithstanding the havoc he made in their ranks, until, finally, perceiving himself outnumbered and outflanked, and that the enemy were likely to be successful in their efforts to cut off his only line of retreat to the river, after five hours' desperate fighting, during which he had lost nearly four thousand men, Gen. Sedgwick retired, in good order, to Bank's Ford; crossed over to the other side, saving his artillery and camp equipage; and reported accordingly to Gen. Hooker, who still remained inactive in the vicinity of Chancellorsville.

Meanwhile, at daybreak Monday morning, the enemy opened a battery upon the supply-trains of Gen. Hooker's army, parked on the opposite bank of the river. The cannoneers had hardly fired half a dozen rounds, before a portion of the twelfth corps was upon them, and every gun was captured and brought off the field. It was a battery of six-pound rifled iron guns, very poorly equipped; portions of the harness being supplied with ropes, or in a tattered and dilapidated condition, and both horses and men looked as though they had suffered from short commons for some time. During the whole of Monday, while Gen. Lee and the bulk of his forces were away in pursuit of Sedgwick, the rebels kept up a series of feints all along the Union line, driving in our pickets, picking off our officers, and keeping our men in constant expectation of a vigorous assault. They also attacked various working-parties in the trenches, and conveyed precisely the impression they desired,—that they were still in force before us, and might, at any moment, appear for another fierce assault.

Gen. Berry, commanding the second division third

corps, had been killed by them on the previous day ; and Gen. Whipple, of the third division, was subsequently mortally wounded, while leaning against a tree in his own camp.

Monday night, their skirmishers and several pieces of light artillery were unusually active, harassing and exhausting the men exposed to their fire, and making sleep next to impossible. At daylight, Tuesday, however, all was quiet again. They had accomplished their object ; reunited their scattered divisions ; prevented an attack in front while they were weakened and exposed ; and, now that they felt secure again, they gave themselves up to a few hours' repose.

About noon, Tuesday, the 5th, preparations were made by Gen. Hooker to abandon his position, and fall back across the river. Pioneers and extra details were at once set to work, repairing the old roads, constructing new ones, and felling trees in the rear to impede pursuit. A furious thunder-storm, which broke forth at four in the afternoon, was of material advantage to these operations, as it covered the noise necessarily made, and kept the enemy under whatever shelter he could improvise for his protection. Early in the evening, the hospitals were safely transferred ; and the trains and artillery followed them. Before three o'clock the next morning, all the guns, wagons, and mule trains were across ; and the passage of the infantry began. It continued, without intermission, until after daybreak, and was uninterrupted by any attempt on the part of Gen. Lee to prevent it.

The dead were left mainly where they fell ; and many of the wounded, who were too seriously injured to be removed, fell into the enemy's hands.

As the rain continued falling nearly all night, it rendered the passage of the river unusually hazardous, and reduced the roads to such a condition, that the troops were splashed with mud from head to foot. In this condition, they plodded wearily along to their old camping-grounds, a fourth time foiled and disappointed in their advance upon Richmond, but determined to try it again, and to keep trying it, until rewarded with success.

The Union loss in this battle was as follows : —

Officers killed, 154 ; enlisted men killed, 1,358 ; officers wounded, 624 ; enlisted men wounded, 8,894 ; prisoners, 6,000 ; total, 17,030.

The losses to the enemy, according to General Order No. 49, issued from Gen. Hooker's headquarters May 6, were five thousand prisoners captured, fifteen colors and seven pieces of artillery brought off the field, vast amounts of stores destroyed, and eighteen thousand men placed *hors de combat*.

Among the killed of the enemy were Gens. Paxton and Stonewall Jackson, whose removal at this critical period more than made up for the loss of the battle.

The following is a list of killed, wounded, and missing of the First Regiment, copied from the official report forwarded to the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, by Col. McLaughlin, a few days after the battle : —

Company B : Killed, Private Charles F. Robbins.

Company D : Killed, Corporals George R. Baxter, Stephen Badger.

Company E : Killed, Private Charles A. Brown.

Company F : Killed, Privates Joseph McIntire, Andrew Greardon, William F. Jollimore.

Company H: Killed, Private Stephen G. Emerson.

Company I: Killed, Capt. Charles E. Rand; Private Samuel F. Wilder.

Company A: Wounded, Privates Fernando A. McCrillis, in the body; William Bowes, in the side; Daniel G. Kelly, in the face; Patrick Reardon, in the shoulder; Charles Green, in the groin; William J. Chase, in the shoulder; Michael Callaghan, in the hand; J. Martin Woodworth, in the face.

Company B: Wounded, Corporal Jacob F. Holmes, in the arm; Privates David Lane, in the body; Lewis G. Smith, in the knee.

Company C: Wounded, Corporal Eben B. Nichols, in the hip; Privates John H. Hoffman, in the hand; Charles H. Wood, in the shoulder.

Company D: Wounded, Lieut. James Doherty, in the hand; Corporal Charles D. Jackman, in the head; Privates George H. Butler, in the hand; John H. Baldwin, in the face.

Company E: Wounded, Sergeant Hugh Cummings, in the body; Privates Edward Carey, in the hip; Edward Potter, in the shoulder.

Company F: Wounded, Sergeants William H. Jepson, in the right leg; Robert B. Smith, in the shoulder; Charles F. Brown, in the shoulder; Corporal Michael Haley, in the arm and hand; Privates Frederick A. S. Lewis in the body; Edward R. Chandler, in the wrist; John D. Thing, in the hip.

Company G: Wounded, Lieut. George Myrick, in the jaw; Sergeant Rawlins T. Atkins, in the leg; Privates Thomas Kennedy, in the arm; James Fitzgerald, in the body; Peter W. Marlow, in the body.

Company H: Wounded, Sergeant Thomas H. Bige-

low, in the leg ; Corporal William J. Wright, in the side ; Privates Nathaniel B. Emerson, in the hand ; William W. Smith, in the body.

Company I : Wounded, Privates Charles E. Fillebrown, in the face ; Augustine Towle, through both thighs ; George E. Gordon, in the arm ; Elisha R. Harrington, in the right leg.

Company K : Wounded, Sergeant George D. Robinson, in the hip ; Corporal William Evans, in the head ; Privates Charles S. Learned, in the hand ; Thomas Finsley, in the right lung ; Gorham S. Kendricks, in the breast.

Company A : Missing, Private John C. Singer.

Company B : Missing, Sergeant Luke E. Jenkins, Corporal William A. West, Private George Barry.

Company C : Missing, Corporal John H. G. Munroe ; Privates William H. Estabrooks, Elijah Tuells.

Company D : Missing, Sergeant William Vincent.

Company E : Missing, Sergeant Hugh Cummings ; Corporals Joseph C. Riley, John S. Larrabee ; Private Robert Cantwell.

Company F : Missing, Corporal William H. Foss ; Privates Albert A. Faunce, Ephraim H. Hall, William Semple, Thomas McManus.

Company G : Missing, Capt. Henry Parkinson, Lieut. Rufus M. Meguire ; Corporals John J. Houghton, Laban W. Turner, Charles S. Morton, Edwin L. Thayer, Alva J. Wilson ; Privates John E. Carver, Michael Desmond, George O. Hubbard, Thomas Lothrop, Francis McDonald, Garritt Nagle, Wyman B. Streeter, John Wiley, Thomas Wilkinson, William W. Wilson.

Company H: Missing, Sergeant Thomas H. Bigelow ; Corporals Orville Bisbee, Patrick J. Donovan ; Privates Calvin T. Fletcher, William Lynch.

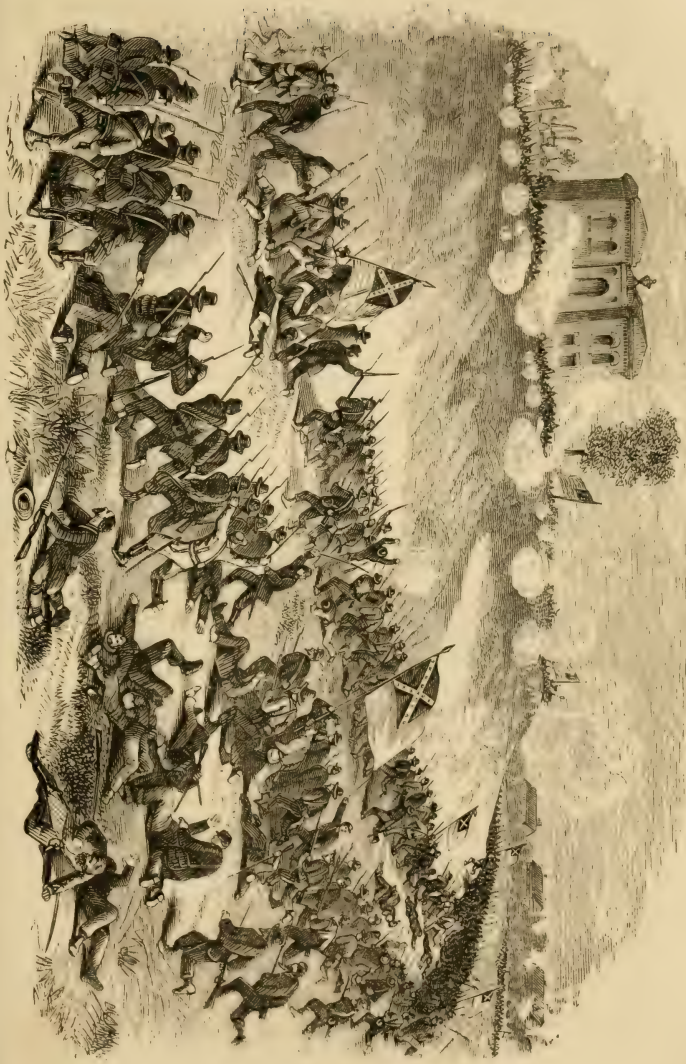
Company I: Missing, Privates William Prescott, John Doyle.

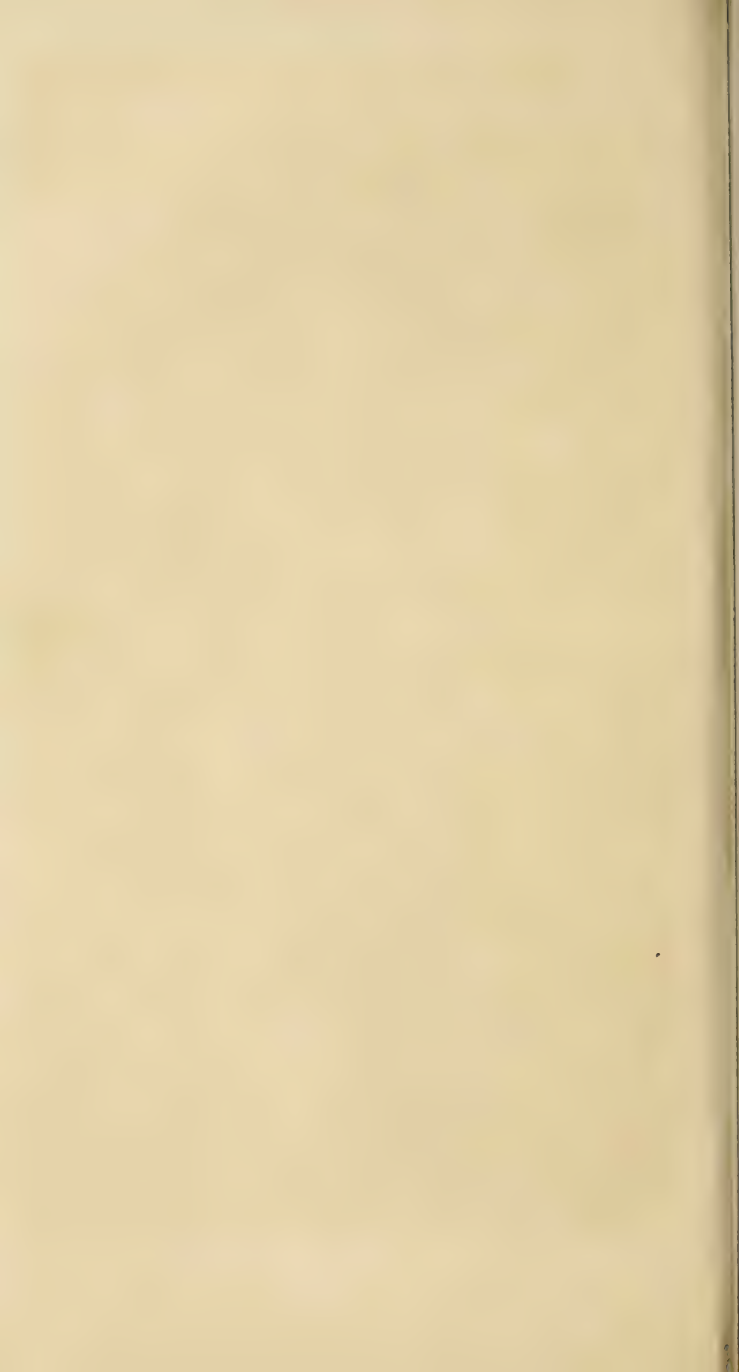
Company K: Missing, Private George Good.

Recapitulation: ten killed, forty-six wounded, forty-two missing ; total, ninety-eight.



CHARGE OF THE REBELS UPON CEMETERY HILL.







CHAPTER XV.

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

"At last, at last, O Stars and Stripes!
Touched in your birth by Freedom's flame,
Your purifying lightning wipes
Out from our history its shame.

Pure as its white the future see, —
Bright as its red is now the sky, —
Fixed as its stars the faith shall be,
That nerves our hands to do or die." — G. W. CURTIS.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Chancellorsville, there was considerable correspondence between Gens. Hooker and Lee, owing to the fact that the hospital supplies of the rebel medical department had become exhausted, and our wounded men on the south side of the Rappahannock were suffering for food, medicine, and the surgical appliances necessary for their relief. An arrangement was entered into, by which ambulances were sent over on a pontoon-bridge laid for the purpose, when the wounded were paroled, and, to the number of twelve hundred, brought over the river.

After a long and tedious march, the First Regiment reached its old camping-ground, near Falmouth, at five o'clock on the afternoon of the 6th of May. The men were drenched to the skin, bespattered all over with mire; and many of them, having lost their knapsacks,

containing overcoats, blankets, and changes of apparel, were in but a sorry plight. To add to their inconveniences, camp thieves had been at work upon their houses during their absence, appropriating freely whatever they could use or sell ; so that hardly a place could be made weather-tight for the night.

The weather continued gloomy and cold for several days, during which but very little exertion was put forth, beyond the effort to be as comfortable as possible.

The army still continued to have a good degree of confidence in Gen. Hooker, notwithstanding the failure at Chancellorsville ; and the men were in no way disheartened or demoralized. A large number of troops, having served out the two years, or other period of their enlistment, being discharged, rendered a vigorous enforcement of the draft indispensable throughout the North, to keep up the numbers and efficiency of the Union army.

Until the 19th of May, the regiment remained at hill-side camp without unusual incident. The old routine of guard-duty, drill, and picket, was resumed ; friends came on from various parts of the country ; new clothing, blankets, accoutrements, &c., were distributed wherever there was need ; convalescents returned from the camp of distribution at Alexandria ; and every thing connected with the troops was put into good working order.

As a sanitary precaution, all the regiments in the army abandoned their old camping-grounds as soon as it became warm and dry enough to do so with safety, and sought eligible sites elsewhere. The First moved about half a mile to the rear of its former location,

pitching tents upon the surface of an elevated plateau immediately fronting the road from Falmouth to Potomac Creek.

As the hot weather was approaching, and shade indispensable, many bowers were erected in front of the officers' quarters, and elsewhere, which gave to the camp an extremely gay and picturesque appearance. A rural chapel was likewise constructed under the supervision of Major Gardner Walker, where not only the members of the First Regiment, but officers and men from other commands, attended the regular nightly prayer-meetings, as well as divine service on Sunday.

From the middle to the last of May, the heat of the weather was very oppressive. There was scarcely any breeze stirring; and all day long the sun poured down his most fervid rays, unbroken by a cloud. The natural consequence was considerable sickness. The colonel and both surgeons of the regiment were attacked, of whom the former and one of the surgeons recovered, but Neil K. Gunn, M.D., the assistant surgeon, after a sickness of fifteen days, died at the Potomac-Creek Hospital, having been in the service of the Government only seventy-six days.

His remains were brought from the hospital to the camp, together with those of Sergeant Thomas H. Bigelow, of Company H, who had just died of wounds received at Chancellorsville; and funeral services were held Wednesday afternoon, June 3, in presence of nearly all the medical officers of the third corps, and the members of the First Regiment; the bodies being buried, with military honors, in the graveyard of the second division hospital.

While the hostile armies were confronting each

other, on the first week in June, Union scouts reported rebel cavalry movements along the Rapidan; and some changes were observed in the enemy's camps encircling Fredericksburg, which created the suspicion that Gen. Lee was about to invade Maryland or Pennsylvania again.

Threats to this effect had been freely made through the rebel press; but military men had not supposed that so sagacious a general as Lee would undertake such a campaign under the circumstances, and attributed these articles to the vaporings of certain hot-headed partisans, who had gone rebellion-mad. Gen. Lee, however, was evidently intent upon the accomplishment of something. He dared not venture to attack the Union army at Falmouth; neither could he afford to waste the summer in inaction: so he projected the withdrawal of Gen. Hooker from his position at Falmouth; the relief of the Shenandoah Valley from the Federal troops, who had occupied it for several months; and the transfer of hostilities to some part of the country north of the Potomac, including the deliverance of Virginia from the presence of her enemies.

On the 3d of June, two divisions of the rebel army moved north towards Culpepper Court House. They were followed, on the 4th and 5th, by the balance of Gen. Lee's forces, excepting Gen. A. P. Hill's corps, which was left to hold the intrenchments at Fredericksburg. The rebel cavalry, under Gen. Stuart, began to gather at the same time in the vicinity of Beverly Ford, on the Rappahannock, preliminary to an aggressive movement in some direction.

On the 5th, Gen. Hooker ordered Gen. Howe's di-

vision of the sixth corps to cross the river below Fredericksburg, and develop the enemy's strength in the environs of the city. A formidable chain of rifle-pits had been constructed to command the crossing, out of which it was necessary to drive the occupants; and several batteries were brought down to the river-bank, whose fire was so vigorous and well-directed, that columns of dust were thrown up from the rebel parapets, and such a tempest of projectiles sent over the edge of the works, that not a man dared lift his head for fear of instant death. In vain the officers shouted, cursed, and pricked men with their swords, to make them get up: they only hugged mother-earth the closer. Under cover of the artillery, the pontoon-boats were carried down the bank, and launched; and the Twenty-sixth New-Jersey Regiment, ferrying themselves over, mounted the bank, carried the works at the point of the bayonet, and captured eighty prisoners. Our loss was less than forty killed and wounded. A portion of the division immediately began to cross, encountering no further opposition from the enemy; and by the middle of the next day were strongly intrenched upon the southern bank of the river. Occasionally a rifleman or an artillerist would send a ball from the rebel lines in the vicinity of the city; but no damage was inflicted.

On Tuesday, the 9th of June, while the rest of the army was at rest, two brigades of cavalry under Gen. Buford, with twelve light guns, and an infantry reserve of two regiments, crossed the Rappahannock at Beverly Ford to make a reconnoissance in the direction of Culpepper. They found the enemy strongly posted beyond the ford, in a semicircular patch of woodland

along the outer edge of which were a number of rifle-pits, commanding the ascent from the river in all directions.

Pickets guarded the fords; and beyond them but a short distance could be seen the smoke caused by numerous camp-fires, denoting the presence of the enemy in large numbers. It was only the work of a moment to drive in the picket-line; when, with a wild shout, the horsemen charged upon the rifle-pits. Never was combat more uneven. Though men and animals in rapid motion afforded but uncertain targets for the most skilful marksmen, neither the carbines nor pistols of the cavalry could be made effective till the contending parties came to close quarters. Ever since the fight at Kelly's Ford, close quarters had been distasteful to the enemy; so that, as soon as this intention was observed, the rebel sharp-shooters began to leave their pits, and scatter through the woods. They were followed so closely, however, that the main body in the rear was taken by surprise; and, during the brisk engagement which ensued, they had hardly recovered their self-possession, before Gen. Pleasanton, having accomplished what he had undertaken, wheeled his command to the right and left, and galloped back across the river. During one of the charges made by the sixth Pennsylvania cavalry, they broke through the rebel line of battle, and reached their rear, riding entirely round their right flank, and so returned to their former places. In another charge, the Union horsemen got so mixed up with the enemy, that the rebel cannoneers, unable in the distance to tell them apart, killed more of their own men by their canister and spherical case than they did of ours.

The Union forces lost three hundred and sixty killed, wounded, and missing: the rebels a much larger number, including two hundred prisoners.

The best result of the reconnoissance was, that papers were obtained conveying reliable information of a movement against Washington, on the part of Gen. Lee, combining the invasion of Pennsylvania, a blow at loyal Maryland, and such other mischief as circumstances might enable him to accomplish. Preparations were immediately made by the authorities at Washington, and by the governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland, to prevent the attainment of his object. One hundred thousand militia were called out by the President; a large number of volunteers was gathered together under Gen. Couch, at Harrisburg, Penn.; the Army of the Potomac was strengthened as much as possible; the cavalry corps entered upon a series of manœuvres, so skilfully conducted as finally to sunder all communication between the infantry and cavalry of the enemy; and, finally, Gen. Hooker put the whole of his troops in rapid motion on the right of Gen. Lee's columns, to act both on the defensive for the purpose of covering Washington, and on the aggressive to drive the enemy out of Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Thursday, June 11, the First Regiment broke camp at twelve o'clock, and proceeded, with the rest of the division, to Hartwood Church. They arrived at seven o'clock, and bivouacked in the open field for the night. The march was resumed the next morning, and continued until ten o'clock, P.M., to Beverly Ford. Nearly thirty miles were traversed at a rapid pace, through clouds of dust in some places so dense, that vision was impossible beyond a few yards; and a large number of

the men fell out by the wayside, utterly overcome by heat and fatigue. Owing to the presence of the enemy, Beverly Ford was held in force during the 13th and 14th; and at the right, a little in advance of the brigade, field-works were thrown up for artillery.

Assaults were made on the 12th, 13th, and 14th, by Gens. Ewell, Early, and Johnson, upon Gen. Milroy's defences at Winchester. The enemy were in overwhelming force, while Gen. Milroy had less than seven thousand men, with only three batteries and six siege-guns.

The rebels were kept at bay, principally by the fire of our artillery, nearly three days. Unable to advance into Maryland or Pennsylvania unless they took the place, they determined upon its acquisition at all hazards; and on Sunday afternoon, the 14th instant, their infantry charged impetuously upon the outer works, regardless of wounds and death, sustaining severe losses in front of the batteries, but advancing to the very muzzles of the cannon, — leaping ditches, mounting breastworks, and rushing at cannoneers and supports, in such overwhelming force, as to prevail against them by the sheer force of numbers.

Gen. Milroy endeavored to retreat with the residue of his command, but was cut off on the road to Martinsburg, and lost two regiments entire, three full batteries of field-pieces, every one of his siege-guns, two hundred wagons, with horses and mules, six thousand muskets, and large quantities of commissaries', quartermasters' and ordnance stores, including ammunition of all kinds. This disaster cleared the way for the invasion of Maryland.

On the night of Sunday, June 14, the First Regi-

ment was relieved, at Beverly Ford, by a squadron of cavalry, and commenced moving in the direction of Warrenton Junction. The men were kept marching all night, by a circuitous route, and arrived at their destination at eight o'clock the next morning. After a short halt, they proceeded in the direction of Bristow Station, and finally bivouacked in vicinity of the Junction. The weather at this time was oppressively warm, the roads as dry as ashes, and water scarce, which combined to produce an unprecedented amount of suffering among the troops. The daily marches were unusually long, and made at an unusually rapid pace; so that the roads were lined with stragglers, — representing almost every regiment, — some of whom had been sun-struck, and were completely broken down. To add to the discomforts ordinarily experienced, the woods and fields had been set on fire, intentionally or otherwise, which filled the atmosphere with smoke and cinders, compelling the soldiers to bivouac upon the open plains.

June 16, Bull Run was reached and crossed; the next day Centreville was occupied, where the command halted a day; and, on the 19th, Gum Spring, a dilapidated village on the Leesburg Turnpike, was entered.

Here the command remained six days, in a pleasant grove by the roadside, acting as support to the pickets. The whole country was infested with guerillas, who lurked about in vicinity of the camps, and picked up all the information they could make available. It became necessary, on account of their proximity, to keep a closer watch than usual; and many residents in the vicinity, including several females, were placed under

arrest and brought to headquarters, upon suspicion of having covert dealings with the enemy.

A march followed, by the way of Edwards' Ferry, to the mouth of the Monocacy River, which, for length, severity, and discomfort, exceeded any thing the army ever had been through before. The Potomac was crossed at the ferry, on a bridge twelve hundred feet in length, upheld by sixty-four pontoon-boats. It was nearly five o'clock in the afternoon when the Maryland side of the Potomac was reached; and a heavy rain had set in, accompanied by a raw, cold wind. The tow-path of the Ohio and Chesapeake Canal proved to be the only available route to the Monocacy; and, as this was very narrow, progress was necessarily slow. The rain, which fell in torrents, raised the canal so that in some places its waters poured over the embankment into the Potomac River; and the flood led many soldiers to mistake the path, and plunge head first into the canal. There was no place to rest, with any comfort: and therefore the march was kept up, at a quick pace, until one o'clock, A.M. The consequence was, that whole regiments fell out of line, and staid until morning on the narrow strip of land between the river and the canal; while, of other regiments, not more than one man in ten attempted to push through with the head of the column. Three hundred and sixty men belonging to the First left Gum Spring in the morning; but only forty laid down in the rain, seventeen hours after, on the banks of the Monocacy. The rest had given out.

Meanwhile the cavalry, under Gen. Pleasanton, continued to hover about the flanks of the enemy, and occasionally to have an encounter in vicinity of some

gap or important thoroughfare of equal value to both parties. At Aldie, on the 18th, and at Upperville, on the 21st, the enemy were found strongly posted, and, after several hours' hard fighting, were driven in confusion from the field. Some pieces of artillery were taken from them, as well as numerous small-arms. A large number were killed and wounded, including several officers; and nearly one hundred captured. They left the field covered with their dead and dying, all of whom fell into our hands.

On the 22d of June, Gen. Hooker's army held the line of the Potomac, from Leesburg up, and had possession of all the gaps in the Bull-Run Mountains. The enemy had advanced into Pennsylvania, in separate columns, studiously avoiding pillage and wanton destruction, but seizing the produce of the country whenever it was necessary, for which rebel money was tendered in payment; or, if the owners preferred, they were given quartermasters' vouchers. On the 28th, a demand was made upon the inhabitants of York, Penn., then held by the enemy, to pay over the sum of one hundred thousand dollars in greenbacks, supply two hundred barrels of flour, forty thousand pounds of fresh beef, thirty thousand bushels of corn, and other things in proportion. The demand was only complied with in part, as it was utterly impossible for the people to obtain the articles desired in such quantities.

By Saturday, the 27th, Gen. Hooker's forces lay in the vicinity of Frederick, Md.; and, holding all the fords of the Potomac, and the various roads by which, if defeated, Gen. Lee must fall back, put a check upon his progress northward, when within only thirteen miles of Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania.

Greatly to the amazement of the Union army, Gen. Hooker* was relieved of his command on the 27th, and Major-Gen. George G. Meade, the commander of the fifth army corps, was appointed to his place. The change was totally unexpected; and, as it was made without the assignment of any reason by the authorities at Washington, created considerable disaffection among the soldiers. Gen. Meade himself was no less surprised than the rest of the army; and, at such a crisis, very naturally shrank from the heavy responsibility so unexpectedly thrust upon him. Nevertheless, he entered at once upon the discharge of his numerous and important duties; moved the several corps in such a manner as to cover Baltimore, keep between the enemy and Washington, and threaten the crossing of the Susquehanna below Harrisburg, endangering Lee's line of retreat.

The latter general, undoubtedly, now saw the folly of endeavoring to transform his army into a flying column, or independent corps, having no visible and permanent base; for he began to contract his lines, and gather his forces together round a common centre. Chambersburg, York, Carlisle, and several other in-

* The reasons assigned for his resignation by Gen. Hooker himself, before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, at the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, as obtained from him by the writer, are as follows:

First. An inadequate supply of troops to accomplish what was required, Gen. Meade receiving thirty thousand more men subsequent to Gen. Hooker's retirement than the army contained on the 27th of June.

Second. The necessity imposed upon him of covering Harper's Ferry and Washington, in accordance with his original instructions; and, at the same time, of meeting an enemy in front numerically superior to his own force.

Third. A constant, though perhaps unintentional, interference on the part of the authorities at Washington with his plans and movements, which prevented him from acting with the freedom, promptitude, and boldness requisite in the emergency, and subjected him to serious embarrassment, besides hampering the operations of his corps commanders and cavalry."

considerable places, he abandoned, and concentrated his troops at Gettysburg. Gen. Meade speedily divined his embarrassment, and prepared to confront him in battle. The neighborhood of Gettysburg afforded admirable advantages for the manœuvring of troops, being itself on elevated ground, surrounded by cultivated levels interspersed with farms and woodlands, and was well supplied with water from various brooks and streams. All the great roads from Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Harrisburg, &c., converged here, forming quite a thriving centre of life and trade. The town had a theological seminary, two colleges, several churches, six manufactories, a bank, court-house, three hotels, and a population of twenty-five hundred inhabitants.

Friday, June 26, the regiment started at ten, A.M., having waited some time for the stragglers to come up, and moved toward the high lands formed by the Kitoctan and South-Mountain ranges, near Point of Rocks, in Maryland. The landscape in every direction was of surpassing loveliness: houses, barns, and farms presented a better appearance, and the people seemed more thrifty, intelligent, and accommodating, than those we had generally met in Virginia.

After passing the night on an interval of land between the hills, beyond which, to the north and east, stretched out vistas of beauty it was a perfect feast to gaze upon, the march was resumed in the morning, and continued first to Jefferson, a small village at the base of the Kitoctan Mountains, and then to Burkettsville, on the road to Crampton's Gap, which led over South Mountain. Most of the inhabitants of Burkettsville were found hearty supporters of the Union. The

next day, a rapid march was made through Middletown, a thriving and enterprising place at the foot of South Mountain and not far from Frederick City, where the stars and stripes fluttered from nearly every building in the principal street ; and at ten, P.M., a halt was made three miles beyond.

At five o'clock on the following morning, marching was resumed in the direction of Taneytown, where the column was greeted in a most friendly manner by the people, and tarried all night. On the 30th, after the companies had been mustered for pay, the march was resumed in the direction of Emmetsburg. The country seemed to be under good cultivation along the road, and most of the people staunch supporters of the Union. They waved handkerchiefs and flags as the troops went by, and supplied the hungry with bread, pies, milk, and poultry, for a reasonable compensation. One little girl in the neighborhood of Bridgeport seemed never weary of shouting in her shrill, childlike way, "Three cheers for the Union!" and when one of the soldiers responded, "Three cheers for you, little girl!" she answered quickly, "Three cheers for you, too, sir!"

The command arrived at Emmetsburg, a post village on the Pennsylvania line, at two o'clock, Wednesday, July 1. Here were St. Mary's College and St. Joseph's Female Institute, both Roman-Catholic seminaries ; besides which the place contained four or five churches, over a hundred good-looking buildings, and twelve hundred inhabitants. Considerable disloyalty had prevailed among the people ; and their manners towards the soldiers were stiff and frigid.

Hardly had the men pitched their shelter-tents on a

knoll of ground beyond the town, when rapid and heavy firing was heard to the front and right. It had been expected all day, and was caused by the advance of Gen. Reynolds's corps beyond the town of Gettysburg, against a division of Gen. Hill's rebel corps posted across the road to Chambersburg. An assault by Gen. Buford's Union cavalry forced back the enemy's first line; but the advance of the whole rebel division compelled Buford to retire, to whose support Gen. Reynolds hastily came forward, when he was fiercely assaulted in the streets of the town itself. A brisk engagement immediately ensued, spreading beyond the town to the right and left, and resulting in a partial repulse for the Federal forces. Emboldened by their success, the enemy pressed impetuously forward upon the right and centre, exposing their right to a flank attack, by which large numbers were taken prisoners, and their advance instantly arrested. At the same time, artillery was brought forward, and served with such skill and precision, that they broke, and retreated beyond the ridge, north-west of the town. At this juncture, Gen. Reynolds incautiously rode forward to reconnoitre, when his staff was greeted with a shower of bullets; and, during the confusion which followed, a rifle-ball struck him in the neck, severing the vertebræ, and causing instant death.

The eleventh corps now arrived; and Gen. Howard immediately disposed the divisions of both corps so as to dispute the enemy's advance upon the town. The rebel divisions of Rhodes, Early, and Pender, were likewise massed to the north and east of the town, preparatory to an assault. Both parties desired to hold Cemetery Ridge, which was the most important mili-

tary position in the vicinity. In numbers largely superior, the enemy charged upon the town; but his forces were at once greeted with such a scathing fire as caused them to fall back in rear of their artillery. Again their lines were formed and reënforced, and once more pushed forward. They were greeted with a fire more deadly than before, and a second time driven back. For a final effort, the reserves were now brought to the front, and a charge made with their whole force. Lapping over both flanks of the Union corps, their numerical superiority made this endeavor successful. Gen. Howard gradually drew off his men from the town, and concentrated them upon Cemetery Ridge, in the rear; while the enemy pressed on, occupied the town, and swept in a semi-circular line round to the north and east of the ridge. No farther advance was attempted that afternoon, as Gen. Lee was not aware how numerous were the Union forces, and was not inclined to risk a general engagement without accurate and reliable information concerning the resources of his opponent. It had not been his intention to venture a great battle so far from his base; but the condition of the country, rendering his trains unsafe, and withdrawal next to impossible, together with his great desire to defeat Gen. Meade, and secure the invaluable results which would thence ensue, led him to prepare for an assault the next day along the whole line.

Meanwhile, the First Regiment rapidly approached the scene of conflict. Large numbers of Dutch farmers were passed on the road, sitting with their families on the fences fronting their estates, gaping at the troops moving by; and the able-bodied men among them received

any thing but complimentary salutations, as the weary troops plodded along to defend the lives, rights, and property of such creatures.

Approaching the neighborhood of Gettysburg after dark, a mistake was made in the roads, which led the division directly through the enemy's lines, and within a few hundred feet of thirty pieces of their artillery. The mistake was discovered by the capture of a sergeant of a rebel battery at supper in one of the houses, when the column faced about, and quietly retraced its steps. The right road was soon found; and, at two o'clock in the morning, the jaded soldiers threw themselves upon the ground, under the shadow of Round Top Hill. Most of the Federal soldiers had by this time arrived in the vicinity of Gettysburg; and all of Gen. Lee's forces, amounting to ninety thousand men, had been massed along Oak Ridge, and to the north and east of the cemetery, which was the key to the Union position.

During Thursday forenoon, the 2d instant, there was very little firing, except from the skirmishers, who were posted along the front of both lines, from Round Top on the extreme left, to Wolf Hill on the right. Information was brought in by the cavalry at noon that the rebels were massing in front of our centre and left for an assault in force. Gen. Sickles immediately moved his corps forward to an elevated plot of ground under cover of Round Top, and deployed skirmishers along a line of fences running nearly parallel with the Emmetsburg road.

He had hardly finished the disposition of his troops, when the enemy emerged from the woods in solid lines, and began a rapid advance. Observing the change

made in the Union front by Gen. Sickles' manœuvre, however, they obliqued a little to the left, and resumed their advance. The skirmishers were scattered before them instantly ; but the line of battle stood firm. Artillery and infantry were so posted, that every shot would tell ; and the first fire made such fearful havoc in their ranks, that they came to a halt. Closing up the gaps, they again moved forward, firing volley after volley as long as the regiments remained sufficiently unbroken to retain their organization, and then loading and firing each man for himself, wherever he happened to be. Their advance was steadily resisted for over an hour by the third corps, assisted only by the batteries upon Round Top, and a few guns on the left, when Gen. Sickles fell back to his first position along Cemetery Ridge ; having the fifth corps upon his left, and the second on his right.

Longstreet's men evidently supposed they had gained an advantage ; for they came on without hesitation up the rocky and steep ascent separating them from the Union lines, and were mowed down by hundreds ere they seemed to realize that the ridge was not thus easily to be wrested from its brave defenders. Reënforced by a second line of battle, they stubbornly fought their way to and along the base of Round Top, and made a diversion towards the Taneytown road, as if to strike upon our left flank. They encountered Buford's cavalry there, however ; and at the same time two divisions from the twelfth corps came up, with the whole of the second, and a portion of the first, which at once took part in the battle, spreading a rapid infantry fire along the base and brow of the ridge, until it reached Gen. Meade's headquarters, and awakening the thun

ders of the batteries all along the summit, as soon as the rebel battalions came within cannon-range.

Longstreet's troops were now strengthened by McLaws' and Anderson's divisions, constituting his third line of battle, who moved over the field, knowing they were the forlorn hope, and must save the day, or it was lost beyond all peradventure. They charged, and fought as only men do and will when they know that every thing depends upon their personal valor and steadfastness. Up the rocks of Round Top, along the fields near the peach-orchard, across the Emmetsburg road, in front of Rogers' farm, they surged in solid masses, only to be hurled back, mangled and bleeding, over the plain again. In some places, they approached so near the batteries that the cannoneers could almost touch them with their rammers before the double-shotted pieces swept scores of them into eternity. Just at night occurred the most critical period of the fight. Gen. Sickles had been severely wounded in the leg, Gen. Hancock in the thigh, and Gen. Gibbons in the shoulder; and the first and second corps, hard pushed by the fierce assaults of the enemy in front, began to waver and retire. On came the enemy with ferocious eagerness; but, just as they were ready to exult over the symptoms of a victory, the sixth corps pushed forward from the reserve, and poured in a series of volleys so withering, that they staggered and halted, and their half-uttered yells of triumph ended in screams of pain and cries of rage, their whole organization seeming to melt away and disappear at once. Some of them went one way and some another. Hundreds threw down their muskets, and came into our lines; and hundreds went back, crawling and limping,

out of the reach of shot, swearing they would never charge upon them again.

Hardly a regiment in the third corps but had lost so many of its number as to render its management almost impossible. In the First, Col. Baldwin and Adjutant Mudge had been crippled, a large number of officers and men scattered about wounded and dead, and the rest having been forced back, Capt. John McDonough took the few remaining in his immediate vicinity, and pursued the enemy as they retired, until their shattered and discomfited ranks disappeared in the shadows of the forest, whence, but three hours before, they had emerged so full of confidence and hope.

As one of our wounded men was lying in a barnyard, whither he had limped to avoid the flying balls, a column of retreating rebels came through, on their way to the rear. One of them remarked, in his hearing, that he was disgusted with the whole thing.

"Why not stop, and give yourselves up?" asked the wounded Federal.

"The Yankees would kill us."

"Pshaw! whoever told you that lied."

"What do you know about it?"

"Why, I'm a Yankee, and know how the Yankees treat their prisoners."

"Are you sure they would not hurt us at all?"

"Sure? of course I am, or I would not tell you so."

"Well, what shall we do?"

"Leave your guns here, go out in front and shake a white handkerchief, and they will stop firing to let you come in."

"What do you say?" was the inquiry among the rebels of each other; and, as a result, over two hun-

dred of them turned back, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

A remarkable instance of coolness under fire was exhibited in the midst of the battle by Lieut. James Doherty, who, observing that his company were a little tremulous, ordered them to bring their guns to the shoulder, and, while the rebel battle-front was all aflame with deadly volleys, and a perfect tornado of whizzing missiles was flying at, over, and among his men, he put them through the manual of arms as quietly as he would in front of their quarters in camp.

Another manifestation of intrepidity worthy of record was made by Corporal Nathaniel M. Allen, of Company B, who, observing that the color-sergeant had been shot down, and that the flag must fall into the hands of the enemy, who were then rapidly advancing, turned back, and under a shower of bullets lifted the flag, and brought it off unharmed.

No sooner had darkness settled down upon the earth than firing ceased upon both sides, the enemy having retired to the woods along Oak and Seminary Ridges, the Union forces holding the same lines they had established in the morning.

At daybreak on Friday, the 3d, Gen. Lee opened fire upon Gen. Meade's position from at least one hundred and fifty guns, and for over two hours kept up an incessant cannonade. The twelfth corps, at the same time, advanced upon Ewell's troops north of the cemetery, to whose support several divisions of rebels hurried from the west, beyond the Emmetsburg road, with whom portions of the third and fifth corps became straight-way engaged, and so continued until Union reënforcements arrived, who opened an enfilading fire upon the

enemy's columns, and drove them back to the woods again.

The struggle of the day was for Cemetery Hill. Just before one o'clock, Gens. Hill and Longstreet planted one hundred and fifteen guns so as to concentrate their fire upon this small plot. At one, the signal-gun was discharged, and the cannonading commenced. It was answered gun for gun by the Union batteries, till the whole vicinity vibrated with the stunning peals. Horses and men were shot down together by the dozen; fragments of gravestones, bricks from tombs, portions of iron and wooden fences around lots, clouds of dust, and pieces of sod, mingled with fragments of shell, flew through the air with tremendous velocity, and in less than ten minutes, the cemetery enclosure was cleared of every living thing. The rebel gunners could make no reply to the Union batteries, which were crippling their pieces in rapid succession, having received orders to concentrate all their fire upon Cemetery Hill. So, for over two hours, they kept up this most terrific cannonade, one side to secure, the other to retain, the burying-ground, into the very graves of whose dead the sulphurous bolts of infuriated conflict penetrated. After the cannonade came the ominous quiet which portended a charge of infantry. It speedily followed the bombardment. Pickett's, Anderson's, Heth's, and Pettigrew's divisions, swept down the hills to the west and south of Gettysburg, and wheeled across the valley towards Cemetery Ridge. A galling fire of canister and shell greeted their arrival at the Emmetsburg road, over which they pushed, unappalled, entering the open field in front of the infantry intrenchments. Against these they undauntedly advanced, vainly hop-

ing that their very desperation might command success. They were allowed to approach almost within pistol-shot, when ten thousand muskets sent their death-dealing contents full into their faces. They recoiled a second, as the killed and wounded fell heavily to the earth; but did not falter. Onward they pressed, until within only a few yards of the Union rifle-pits, when hundreds were smitten to the earth, and the pits abandoned to give the batteries in the rear unobstructed range over the field. Mistaking the abandonment of the pits for a retreat, they raised a shout, and darted forward, when the contents of fully forty pieces of artillery were discharged at point-blank range, directly into their midst. The effect was terrible. Men, guns, accoutrements, and every thing movable were torn to shreds; the earth was ploughed up, and sent flying through the air in great clods; the dead and wounded were piled up in heaps; and, in the midst of masses of cannon-smoke, little knots of soldiers, standing where had been unbroken lines, wavered and tottered, looked before, behind, and on either side, as if bewildered or demented, not knowing what to do or whither to go. It was the turning-point of the day. Gen. Pettigrew, who led the assault, was wounded; and before Gen. Pickett, who was next in command, could get the rebel troops in hand, Union flankers were upon their right, and nearly three thousand were cut off and captured. The rest, covered by a fresh brigade sent out to their relief, fell back to the woods; and the day was ours.

Had the rebel batteries been supplied with ammunition, no doubt they would have prolonged the conflict, at least for the sake of keeping up appear-

ances, while they sought safety in flight ; but, as they had not powder enough to make it appear otherwise, they were obliged to allow the Union troops to conclude that they had given up the struggle, and were about to retire. Hence, while along their lines all was silence and gloom, in ours all was merriment and rejoicing. Bands played national airs in *fortissimo* style ; men cheered at any thing and every thing in the excess of their enthusiasm ; and unrestrained hilarity ruled the hour.

Even the wounded and bleeding sufferers in the hospitals seemed to forget their pain in the great joy our triumph universally afforded. The writer remembers two men in the third corps hospital, who said they were glad of and gloried in their wounds, if they had aided in the achievement of victory ; and several, who could not speak, looked the assent and sympathy their pale lips were unable to utter.

Saturday, the 4th of July, was occupied by both armies in burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded. The rebel sharp-shooters continued to fire into our lines, and shot down several persons who were relieving the wants of the enemy's wounded ; but beyond that they did not venture. Gen. Ewell withdrew his column from the hills to the south-east of Gettysburg, and from the streets of the town itself. In the afternoon, Gen. Lee forwarded all his wounded, who could bear removal, to Hagerstown, sending after them his wagon-trains and artillery ; and, soon after dark, his whole army commenced a retrograde movement towards Waterloo Gap, in South Mountain.

His losses had been enormous. Besides the dead buried by his own men, 4,500 of them were buried by

Union soldiers. Many of his wounded were carried to the rear, and sent to Richmond; but nearly 27,000 fell into our hands. We captured, besides, 13,621 prisoners, three guns, forty-one standards, and 24,978 stand of small-arms.

The entire Federal loss was 2,834 killed, 13,790 wounded, and 6,643 missing.

The losses in the First Regiment were as follows:—

Company A: Killed, Corporal Henry Evans; Privates George W. Parkes and John Pettis.

Company B: Killed, Private George D. Trim.

Company C: Killed, Sergeant Edward J. McGinnis; Privates Orrin Edwards, William Kilvinton, and William H. Latimer.

Company D: Killed, Private James M. Matthews.

Company E: Killed, First Lieut. Henry Hartley; Color-Sergeant William Kelren.

Company F: Killed, Corporals William H. Appleton and John Quincy Burrill; Private Andrew Moore.

Company G: Killed, Sergeant William H. Colson.

Company H: Killed, Private Lawrence H. Kelly.

Company K: Killed, Private Henry S. Washburn.

Wounded: Lieut.-Col. Clark B. Baldwin, slight, in the arm; Adjutant Charles E. Mudge, slight, in the head; Capt. George E. Henry, Company B, severe, in the foot; Capt. Henry Parkinson, Company G, severe, right breast; Capt. Francis W. Carruth, Company H, slight, in the head; First Lieut. John S. Clark, Company K, slight, in the neck; Lieut. William P. Drury, Company A, contusion, body; Lieut. Harrison Hinckley, Company G, painful, shoulder and head; Lieut. William E. Hayward, Company I, ball through the arm.

Company A : Wounded, Sergeant John T. Robinson, left leg, severe, subsequently died. Privates George A. Bailey, left arm and leg, severe ; William Mullen, slight, in the head ; James King, right shoulder, painful ; Frank H. McIntosh, hip, serious ; Charles Green, finger, trifling.

Company B : Wounded, Corporal George W. H. Burbeck, left side, severe. Privates George Goulding, foot, severe, subsequently died ; Daniel Coughlin, left arm and breast, painful ; Henry H. Brown, leg, serious ; Charles L. Hittenheime, right leg and breast, dangerous ; James McNulty, right thigh, severe ; David H. Eaton, left knee, dangerous, subsequently died ; Joseph Smith, left shoulder and neck, severe ; Michael Condon, foot, serious ; Jacob Kesland, hip, dangerous, subsequently died ; Asa P. Lewis, right hand, trifling ; Allen T. Hamblin, leg and body, severe.

Company C : Wounded, Orderly-Sergeant George A. Tenney, left shoulder, severe ; Sergeant John A. Duddy, left wrist, painful. Corporals Samuel W. Wharf, through both thighs, dangerous ; Edward Doherty, right shoulder, slight. Privates John Dwyer, right thigh, serious ; Robert Flynn, left arm, severe ; John Richards, body, trifling ; James Callahan, right arm, not dangerous ; Patrick Haley, right shoulder, painful ; John R. Miles, both thighs, dangerous ; Emerson Bigelow, thigh, trifling ; Joshua A. Bracket, left thigh, not dangerous ; Charles H. Woods, body, subsequently died.

Company D : Wounded, Sergeant Edward Reidell, right arm, not dangerous. Corporals Albert G. Packer, arm and groin, painful ; Charles A. Lambert, breast, serious ; John E. Hickey, left leg, trifling. Privates

Horatio G. Littlefield, slight contusion ; Elbridge E. Currier, thigh, serious ; Edward W. Lydston, neck, slight ; Aretes C. Chamberlain, hip, trifling.

Company E: Wounded, Orderly-Sergeant Frederick Pierce, left hand, severe. Corporals Amasa G. Smith, left shoulder, serious ; Francis Duffy, left ankle, trifling. Privates Moses C. Emerson, left thigh, severe ; Samuel H. Cox, right shoulder, dangerous ; Friz Hatchky, left shoulder, serious ; John Taylor, left leg, slight ; Thomas Cummings, right arm, trifling ; Robert Kenney, left arm, not dangerous ; William Gray, left leg, slight ; Frederick S. Kettell, thigh, dangerous, subsequently died.

Company F: Wounded, Sergeants Lewis H. Hall, left side, trifling ; Charles F. Brown, right hand, severe. Privates Alonzo Peasley, fore-finger shot off ; James E. Abbott, shot through the abdomen, dangerous.

Company G: Wounded, Sergeant George H. Tyler, face, painful. Privates James E. Gribben, leg, slight ; Dennis Foley, neck, trifling ; Henry G. Swain, arm and breast, serious ; James Fitzgerald, head, slight ; James Norton, head, insignificant.

Company H: Wounded, Sergeant Samuel B. Bassett, face, serious. Privates Joseph W. Spooner, leg, slight ; Benjamin Blanchard, finger, trifling ; John W. Chessman, arm, serious ; Enoch C. Cornell, foot, severe.

Company I: Wounded, Sergeant Charles F. Ferguson, left leg amputated, subsequently died ; William W. Eaton, contusion. Privates Frank P. Rollins, right leg, dangerous, subsequently died ; Charles E. Fillebrown, face, severe ; Thomas Flynn, left thigh, serious.

Company K : Wounded, Corporal George Everett, thigh, severe, subsequently died. Privates William H. Beal, breast, severe ; A. P. Mason, shoulder, painful ; Garrick Moore, shoulder and leg, serious ; Orange S. Richardson, through both shoulders, dangerous ; Charles A. Young, leg, not dangerous ; Michael Connor, head, trifling.

Company A : Missing, George A. Evans, John Donahue.

Company B : Missing, Orderly-Sergeant George Murphy, Sergeant Henry B. Sellon, John Lightbody.

Company C : Missing, Michael Cunningham, James Goode, William H. Reynolds, John A. Neal.

Company D : Missing, John W. Matthews.

Company E : Missing, Corporal Albert A. Farnham.

Company F : Missing, Sergeant Jerome Carlton.

Company G : Missing, Daniel McKenzie, Joseph A. Newcomb, Richard B. Smart.

Company H : Missing, Orderly-Sergeant Lionel D. Phillips, E. Bruce, George S. Sullivan.

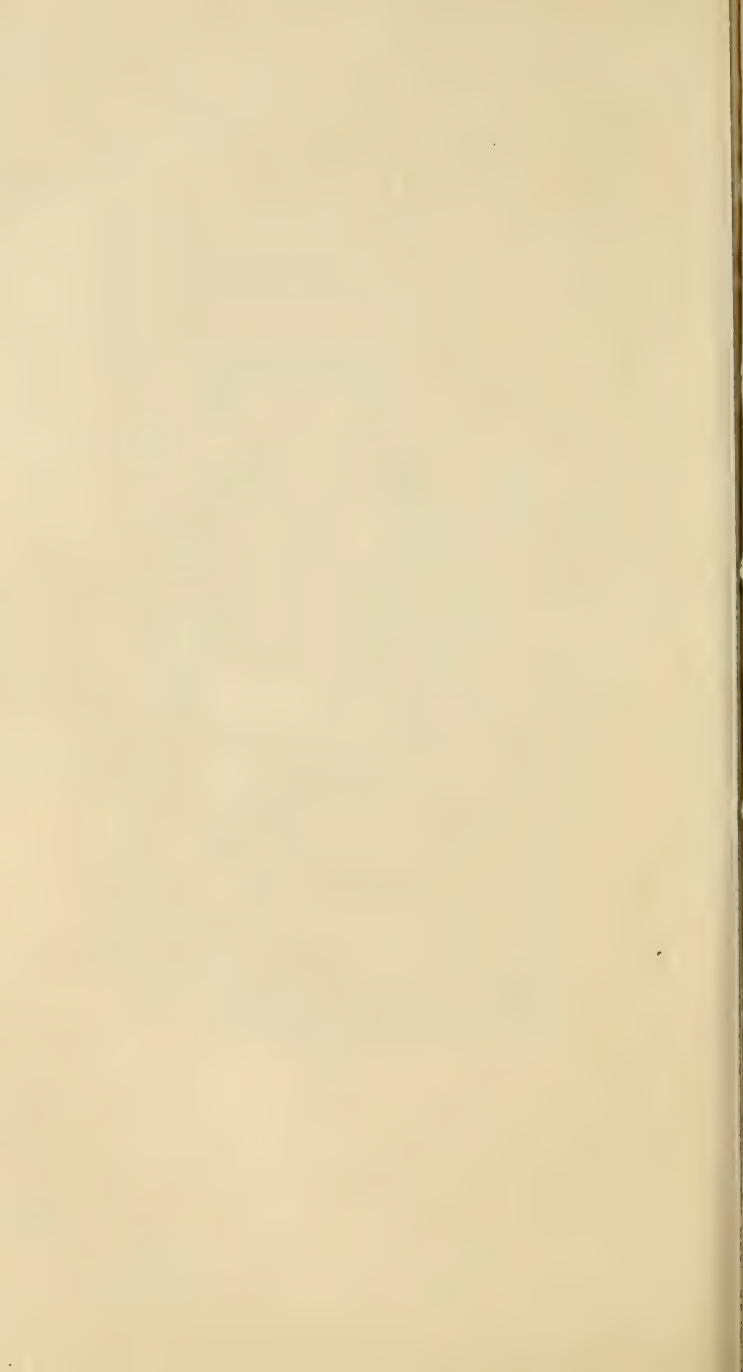
Company I : Missing, Arthur B. Moulton.

Company K : Missing, Lewis G. Bird.

Recapitulation : killed and subsequently died, twenty-six ; wounded, seventy-seven ; missing, twenty ; total, one hundred and twenty-three.



ON THE LOOKOUT, WAPPING HEIGHTS.





CHAPTER XVI.

BATTLE OF WAPPING HEIGHTS.

“They charge with fire and steel;
They thunder o’er the plain;
The rebel legions reel;
The ground is piled with slain.
The stricken foes divide,
Like Jordan’s fearful tide
Smote by the hand of Heaven;
And right and left
Their ranks are cleft,
As though by lightning riven.”—RICHARD KIRKE.

GEN. LEE had no sooner reached Hagerstown with the bulk of his army than the advance of Gen. Meade’s forces was at Funktown, six miles to the south. From thence to Williamsport and Falling Waters on the Potomac, where the rebel general had left a pontoon-bridge under a strong guard, he was subjected to perpetual annoyance and embarrassment. One brigade of cavalry and another of infantry hung on his rear, picking up stragglers, capturing guns, and destroying wagon-trains. The entire Army of the Potomac was on his left flank; Harper’s Ferry and Turner’s Pass in South Mountain were occupied in force by the Federal troops, cutting off escape in that direction; and, to crown his disasters, the pontoon-bridge he had thrown across the Potomac was destroyed, and the guard captured.

At about the same time, it began to rain; and, the river having been very high previously, it became a

matter of doubt whether Gen. Lee could get back into Virginia at all, if his retreat was vigorously followed up.

Tuesday, July 6th, orders came to the First Regiment to pack up in readiness for a move. The wounded were left in charge of Surgeon Whiston, until they could bear removal to some regular hospital; and the dead of both sides buried, with suitable inscriptions on the rude head-boards designating their graves.

As soon as it began to be light, the march commenced and extended through Emmetsburg to Mechanicsville, seventeen miles beyond. It had rained almost without intermission since the 4th; and the country was deluged with water. The roads were little better than ditches; and many of the shallow brooks had swollen into considerable streams.

Mechanicsville was a thriving village of some size, and seemed to be occupied mainly by loyal people. Although provisions had begun to be scarce throughout the region, they supplied the troops, so far as they were able, and manifested a generous interest in their welfare. The defeat of Lee twice in succession had given the Federal soldiers an importance, in popular estimation, which was seen and felt wherever they moved. The feeling was universal, that the rebels had made their last invasion of Union soil, and that their power was on the wane. Hence many who had been non-committal, while it remained uncertain which side was going to conquer, at once declared for the North, when there was no longer any doubt.

From Mechanicsville, the command moved, on the 8th, through Lewinsville, Kitoetan Furnaces, and Frederick City, cheered along their route by the tidings

that Vicksburg had surrendered, and all its defenders and munitions of war fallen into our hands. They encamped a few miles beyond the city, and the next morning pursued their way to Middletown, Fox Gap, in the Kitoctan Mountains, through the Gap, and down the other side.

At this point the corps was largely reënforced by the remnants of other brigades and fresh troops, mainly heavy artillery and infantry reserves from the defences of Washington, under command of Gen. French. The weather changed, July 10, from cold to hot, and proved very trying to the troops. The roads were in such a condition, that marching was extremely difficult; and the marches and fighting of previous days had so drawn upon the vital resources of the men, that they were very generally exhausted. In order to come up with the enemy expeditiously, forced marches were made, which caused the death of some, who were sunstruck, and compelled large numbers to fall out by the way. The battle-ground of Antietam Creek was reached on the 10th; and the troops surveyed with melancholy interest the mounds and head-boards which marked the various spots where the dead of both sides had been consigned to the dust the year before. The march was continued to Boonsboro', thence to Roxbury Mills, and thence a short distance to a wood near Williamsport, where orders were received to be in readiness for an assault upon the enemy. At that time it was raining in torrents. The Potomac was unusually high and swift, and thanks went up to Heaven for the rain, almost as numerous as the drops that came down. It was felt to be impossible for Gen. Lee to ferry his forces across the river, and it was known that one of

his bridges there had been destroyed. All that seemed necessary was an assault, to compel his vanquished and retreating army to surrender. Never were soldiers seen so eager for a battle, so impatient to be allowed to engage the enemy. Being held where they were from the 12th to the 15th, while the rebels were so near they could see their pickets in the neighboring woods and on the adjoining hills, some of our soldiers actually wept, they were so desirous of the one grand, final conflict which might end the whole war, and release them from the privations and sufferings of another campaign in Virginia.

Gen. Kilpatrick had received orders to be constantly on the alert, and to charge the rebel line of battle early Tuesday morning, the 14th. Receiving intimations during the previous night that they were getting over the river as fast as possible, partly by fording, and partly on a rude bridge of trees and timber, he gathered his command hastily together, and dashed off in the direction of their retreat. He came up with their rear-guard at Williamsport, on the river, and at a point just two miles from Falling Waters. It was the work of a moment to form his men, and advance to the assault. The enemy were strongly posted along the crest of a hill to the left, and in the midst of thick woods on the right. Their men did not fight with any vigor or enthusiasm; but, being very numerous, their fire told seriously upon riders and horses when the cavalry endeavored to come to close quarters. The Sixth Michigan, in face of an artillery fire from guns planted behind a breastwork of logs, stones, and earth, rode gallantly up a steep hill, exposed to the volleys of two lines of battle drawn up on top; leaped the

parapet; plunged in among the sharp-shooters and cannoneers, sabring such as resisted, right and left; and rode back, with the loss of only thirty killed, wounded, and missing. Other regiments from the second brigade made similar charges; but, as they had no infantry supports to follow up the advantages gained by the cavalry, the enemy were enabled to keep them at bay over two hours, until most of their troops had accomplished the passage of the river; when those who were left broke, and fell back in confusion. They were hotly pursued, and captured in squads, platoons, and battalions, to the number of fifteen hundred; hardly any attempting to offer resistance. The Union loss was twenty-nine killed, thirty-six wounded, and forty missing. One hundred and twenty-five dead bodies of the enemy were buried on the field, fifty wounded were brought away, and fifteen hundred prisoners, three battle-flags, and two guns captured. Among their wounded was Gen. Pettigrew, of South Carolina, who died soon after at Winchester, whither he was carried for surgical aid. Thus the rebel army escaped from the clutches of Gen. Meade, greatly to the mortification and disappointment of his soldiers, who were thoroughly persuaded that it could have been conquered entire, had they been permitted to make an assault as soon as they arrived.

Sorrowfully, therefore, the next day, the column was formed for a continuation of the march, now destined to stretch into Virginia again. No enemy was found at Williamsport or Falling Waters; most of the rebel army having made good their escape to the other side. Some wagons were lost and horses drowned in the endeavor to get over by wading or swimming; but the

bulk of Gen. Lee's transportation was safely conveyed into the Old Dominion to do service against the Union a little longer. Although there seemed to be no occasion for any hurry, the troops were immediately pushed on fifteen, eighteen, and twenty miles a day, to their manifest detriment, morally as well as physically.

Sharpsburg was reached and passed on the 15th; and the men were very much interested in the old church and other buildings which had been so riddled and rent with shot during the great battle of Antietam. The next two days were spent in Pleasant Valley, a charming section of Maryland; having South Mountain on one side, and a spur of the Kitoctan range on the other. The land sloped so gradually, and spread out into broad levels so accessible and finely situated, that it was cultivated almost to the tops of the hills, and presented on every side an enchanting scene of verdure and beauty, combining woodland and field, summit and vale, forest and farm, in harmonious succession and ever-changing variety of aspect.

July 17, very much against their will, the soldiers were marched into Virginia again. They crossed a pontoon-bridge at Sandy Hook to Harper's Ferry, and from thence the wire suspension-bridge over the Shenandoah to the highlands beyond. No one could pass through such a place as Harper's Ferry, without a great degree of interest. In beauty of scenery, it surpasses every other town on the American continent; and ever since the country's discovery has been a noted resort for artists and lovers of the beautiful, from all lands. Situated on a narrow neck of land at the confluence of the Shenandoah River with the Po-

tomac, surrounded by towering heights rising perpendicularly a thousand feet from the level of the river, commanding a view down the valley of the Potomac extending for miles, it has ever received the warmest encomiums from travellers and tourists, native and foreign.

The chief feature of interest about the place, at this time, however, was the old engine-house, where John Brown fought so desperately to further his scheme of universal emancipation. It was close by the water, on the principal street in the place, and, unless battered down by artillery, might make a formidable stronghold for a few hundred resolute men, well supplied with ammunition and provisions. The United-States arsenal there was capable of storing ninety thousand muskets, and the armory of turning out twenty-five thousand a year. John Brown seized the arsenal Sunday night, Oct. 16, 1859, assisted by twenty-one other men, five of whom were negroes. They held it until Tuesday morning, the 18th, against fifteen hundred militia, one hundred marines, and two pieces of artillery; when, having lost ten whites and three negroes killed, and four whites who had run away, the doors were broken open; and the remaining five, two severely wounded, were taken prisoners. It was noteworthy to observe how promptly James Buchanan sent his marines and artillerists to the rescue of Harper's Ferry, when slavery was assailed, and how tardily the same President responded to the loyal call for succor from beleagured Sumter, less than two years afterwards, when slavery was the assailant.

As soon as they entered Virginia, the spirits of the men drooped. Its soil was saturated with the blood,

and whitened with the bones, of their friends, comrades, and brothers. In every direction could be seen the marks of ruin, desolation, and decay. The people were rebels, almost without exception, and having lost nearly every thing they possessed, through the ravages of war, were saturnine and truculent in their intercourse with the Union troops, but so poorly informed as to the real issues at stake, and so disinclined to any effort for the acquisition of knowledge, that it seemed a waste of time to endeavor to reason or parley with them. From Hillsboro', in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, where the regiment bivouacked on the 18th, and remained until the next day, the column moved to Wood Grove, in the vicinity of Snicker's Gap, the day following, keeping close along the eastern base of the Blue-Ridge Mountains, so as to be within easy marching-distance of the gaps, should any portion of Gen. Lee's army attempt to leave the valley of the Shenandoah, and break through the Union lines.

On the 20th, Upperville was reached, on the main road to Ashby's Gap. The Union and Rebel armies were here divided only by the Blue-Ridge range of mountains, along the eastern slope of which the troops of Gen. Meade were passing, and along the western those of Gen. Lee. Their only chance of meeting was in the gaps, which were from three to six and eight miles long; but hemmed in by such precipitous declivities as to render military operations extremely difficult.

The rebels manifested no disposition to possess themselves of any gap but that through which ran the Manassas-Gap Railroad. Here, in close proximity to Front Royal, a village of five hundred inhabitants, pleasantly situated on Happy Creek, they threw out

skirmishers, and established a line of battle across the gap.

Having remained at Upperville most of the 20th, and all of the 21st, where the regimental pay-rolls were made out, and forwarded to Washington, and orders received for three commissioned officers and six enlisted men to proceed to the Massachusetts draft rendezvous, in Boston Harbor, for the purpose of enrolling, supplying, and forwarding to the army such drafted men or substitutes as might be obtained, the line was formed again on the 22d, and the march continued to Piedmont, a romantic little hamlet on the Manassas-Gap Railroad.

This railroad was part of a line projected for the purpose of connecting Washington with Staunton, by the way of Strasburg and Harrisonburg, in the valley of the Shenandoah; and, at this time, had been completed only as far as Mount Jackson, on Mill Creek. It had been totally destroyed by Stonewall Jackson, during his retreat in 1862, and was strewn with the *débris* of half-burned sleepers; rails bent by the action of fire, and rolled or twisted together, along the embankment; car-wheels and metallic roofing: here and there a partially destroyed bridge or culvert, or a dilapidated station-house, with all the windows broken and the doors smashed in.

Along the carriage road bordering this wreck-strewn embankment, the regiment moved on the 23d, until they arrived at the entrance to the gap. The land now began gradually to rise, sloping down from both sides of the mountains, right and left, to the valley between, along which wound the road to the other side of the ridge. In some places, these mountains, where

the ascent was gradual and easy, had been cleared of trees and bushes, and were covered with fields of grass, clover, and grain. In others, they were enclosed with walls and fences for the pasturage of cattle and sheep.

The soil was exceedingly rich, but the surface of the ground was covered with loose stones, some of large size, above and around which the rank grass had grown, making the movement of artillery, and the manœuvring of large bodies of men, matters of no little difficulty. The common roads, likewise, having been at the same time roads and beds for the mountain brooks which ran, one to the east and the other to the west, through the gap, were rougher than any thing the Army of the Potomac had ever before experienced in all its marches and travels. Movable stones of all sizes and shapes, from the common cobble to blocks two or three feet high and as many broad, lay directly in the track over which wagons must proceed, and the artillery be driven. Army horses and mules usually have a hard life; but here they were jerked and twitched about, and tripped up so constantly, that not a heart but pitied the poor brutes. Knowing the nature of Manassas Gap, the rebels had not ventured to bring their forces farther than to the western entrance, and had spread them out over a series of eminences known as Wapping Heights.

Cavalry scouts had reported this to Gen. Meade; and as it was possible for Gen. Lee to bring his army through this gap to Warrenton, Centreville, and the vicinity of Washington again, unless it was wrested from his grasp and held in force, the whole army was halted,

and the several corps drawn up in close proximity to the eastern entrance. At the same time, the third corps took the lead, and, on July 23, passed through Springfield and Barhamsville, rural settlements within the precincts of the gap, towards Front Royal. Line of battle was formed at ten o'clock, skirmishers thrown out immediately, artillery posted on an eminence commanding the road, and the advance begun. The enemy were posted in a lunette-shaped line, covering the road in front and on both sides, holding the crest of the highest hill, with a battery at the rear and left. Their skirmishers had improvised impregnable rifle-pits from the loose stones abounding in the vicinity, behind which they lay in perfect security, picking off any Federal soldier who remained still long enough to constitute a mark; while nothing gave evidence of their existence in wood or field, but the little puffs of white smoke that darted out of their rifle-barrels, and the shrill ring of their conical bullets as they came over into our battalions.

Upon being assailed in considerable force, they manifested no disposition to retire; and therefore it was deemed advisable to summon up a couple of corps for supports, and charge up the heights with the bayonet. Orders were accordingly sent back for reënforcements; and, in the course of the afternoon, the second and fifth corps advanced through the narrow pass, and formed their lines from summit to summit across the gap in rear of the front line of battle. As soon as they were in position, the skirmishers were called in, and the several brigades of the third corps drawn up, by column of regiments, in front of the high ridge on the left commanding the whole field, and the lower

eminences in front covering the road. The view from any of the heights was exquisitely beautiful. Front Royal was in the foreground, with the swelling ranges of Massanutten, Great North, Little North, Branch, and Shenandoah, rolling up against the horizon like mighty billows, and disappearing finally in the distant west; to the right and left were the abrupt spurs and towering peaks of the Blue-Ridge chain, sharply defined in the clear atmosphere of the region; while to the rear stretched out in tranquil loveliness the wide expanse of plain and valley lying between Bull-Run Mountains and the Blue Ridge, or Bull Run and the Potomac.

Up the loftiest of the Wapping Heights slowly toiled the soldiers of the first brigade. The enemy were strongly posted behind a stone wall entirely hidden from view, while of the first brigade every man was plainly visible. As long as they dared remain and fire, the rebels skulked under cover in their lurking-places; but, as soon as they saw that the panting columns of the Union were intent upon the possession of their position at all hazards, they let fly a parting volley, and beat a precipitate retreat over the other side of the height. The elevation gained was the key to the whole position; and although the enemy appeared in strong force on a hillock lower down, under cover of their artillery, it was decided that they could not hold it, and the second Excelsior brigade was formed in the valley below, to dislodge them. At the same time, their skirmishers on the right of the road were forced back, cutting off their chances for an enfilading fire upon the charging column as it advanced. In the most regular manner and orderly array, the

men began their progress up the hill, concealed at first from the enemy in front, and marching with a slow step, owing to the rough and uneven character of the ground. As soon as they came in sight of the hostile line, a shower of bullets greeted their appearance; and the firing became rapid all along their front. Without the least confusion, and in a wonderfully short space of time, the men spread out in column of brigade, raised a shout, and started forward on the double-quick. Several fell, killed or wounded, before they were half-way to their destination; but the rest kept on with accelerated pace, rushed up to the stone walls and rifle-pits of the enemy, shot down those of the occupants who tried to get away, captured others who remained, and put to flight the entire force opposed to them. Immediate pursuit was made with cavalry, infantry, and artillery, over the hills, through woods and fields, and along the roads; but the rebels did not attempt another stand, having held the gap evidently for no other purpose than that of observation.

The field remaining in Federal possession, a working-party was sent out to bury the dead of both parties, and bring in the wounded. The rebel loss was smaller than ours, inasmuch as their men were shielded by walls and rifle-pits. On both sides, it did not amount to over twenty killed, and one hundred wounded, of whom none belonged to the First Regiment.

The next morning a force of mounted men moved forward upon Front Royal, beyond the gap. They met a cavalry patrol of rebels near the town, whom they drove through the streets, and pursued several miles beyond. Failing to find any considerable portion of Lee's army in the neighborhood, they were recalled,

and the several corps returned to the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge. The First remained upon the hill-top which they had taken on the previous day, until the afternoon of the 24th, when the settlement of Wapping Heights was left in the rear, and the line of march taken up through the gap to the east.

The night of the 24th was spent at Markham, a small hamlet about twenty miles from Warrenton. During the 25th and 26th, the column moved forward leisurely, and bivouacked, on the afternoon of the 26th, beyond Warrenton, on the road to Culpepper Court House.

Warrenton was the capital of Fauquier County, Va., distant one hundred miles from Richmond, and fifty from Washington. It had been a place of considerable importance before the war, having a court house, town hall, several stores, four churches, two hundred and fifty or three hundred buildings, and quite two thousand inhabitants. Several of the buildings were handsome residences of wealthy and influential Virginians, constructed in modern style, surrounded with flower-gardens, and presenting quite a home-like and attractive appearance. But it was a town almost without inhabitants. Most of the negroes and many of the white women remained; but, of the white men who were able-bodied, there were very few who had not been in some way connected with the rebel army, or identified with the rebel cause, and were not at home. The town had been occupied and evacuated several times in succession by the Union and Rebel forces, so that the sight of soldiers was no new thing to the people during the summer of 1863. The first time Federal troops marched through the streets, they

were subjected to various insults and annoyances from the women, who were only shielded by their sex from the punishment men would have received without delay. That feeling had vanished now, however; for the troops were welcomed, or at least treated respectfully. Business was at a stand-still. Stores, hotels, and work-shops, were all closed, except a few small concerns kept by Jews; and, as rebel money had depreciated so as to be comparatively valueless, the necessities of life were either sold at enormous rates, or it was found impossible to obtain them at any price.

In the vicinity were grist-mills, which supplied the inhabitants with flour and meal; and on these articles they were compelled to subsist month after month, praying and longing for the war to cease, that they might once more obtain the comforts and conveniences to which they had been accustomed.





CHAPTER XVII.

RIKER'S ISLAND. NEW-YORK HARBOR.

"Hast thou chosen, O my people! on whose party thou shalt stand,
Ere the doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?
Though the cause of Evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone is strong;
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng
Troops of beautiful, tall angels, to enshield her from all wrong.
We see dimly in the present what is small and what is great:
Slow of faith, how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of Fate!
But the soul is still oracular: and amid the market's din,
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within,—
'They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin!'"

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

ON the night of July 29, greatly to the surprise of officers and men, the members of the First Regiment were roused from their slumbers at half-past twelve o'clock, with orders to prepare to take the cars at Warrenton Junction for New York. At first, the half-awakened soldiers thought the summons nothing but a practical joke, gotten up to relieve the monotony of camp-life and long marches. Seriously assured that the orders were genuine, and might lead to hard fighting in the streets of New-York City itself, where they were to report for the preservation of order during the draft, they proceeded with alacrity to put every thing in readiness for a start.

The people of the North had not been united or enthusiastic as a whole in their support of the national administration. Notwithstanding the jeopardy in which

the country was placed by rebels at the South, and the urgent necessity of union and coöperation elsewhere to prevent the nation's overthrow, there were large numbers of men, mainly ousted and imbittered politicians of the proslavery Democratic stripe, with a sprinkling of renegade Whig fossils, and a blustering array of rum-guzzling roughs and low-bred foreigners, who were always ready to hoot and groan at the Government, to denounce President Lincoln as a reckless imbecile or a blood-thirsty despot, to rail at the Republican party as a body of frantic, semi-demented, thoroughly corrupt place-hunters, and to pity the patriotic masses and gallant leaders of secession for their sufferings and sacrifices in furthering the perpetuity of negro bondage. These home-traitors united to form a party not unlike the Tory faction of Revolutionary times, to whom gradually came to be applied the name of "Copperheads;" this being the name of a venomous, sluggish, and repulsive reptile, called also "chunk-head," and "deaf adder,"—the most dreaded and dangerous serpent, after the North-American rattlesnake, in the country.

This party, ever on the watch to cry out against the authorities at Washington, was terribly aggrieved by the draft, and spared no pains or expense to foment disaffection, and incite resistance to it in all the densely-populated Northern cities. Among the consequences, were the New-York and Boston riots.

On the morning of Saturday, July 11, the inhabitants of the ninth precinct, New-York City, were greatly excited by an anti-draft demonstration in the vicinity. The day passed without an outbreak, although one was expected. Not so Monday, the 13th. No sooner

had the provost-marshal's office been opened for drawing names from the wheel, than a crowd began to gather in front, on the sidewalks, and in the street, evidently intent on mischief. The wheel had moved but a short time, when the attack commenced. Stones, brickbats, and missiles of various descriptions, were hurled at windows and door ; a rush was made into the room ; the draft-wheel seized, and broken to pieces ; the papers scattered over the floor ; the officers forcibly ejected from the premises ; and the building set on fire.

News of this high-handed proceeding spread like wildfire throughout the city, and produced everywhere intense excitement. Crowds gathered on the corners and in the back streets, composed mainly of desperate characters from liquor-saloons, gambling-hells, and bawdy-houses ; beardless striplings just entering a career of infamy ; and hardened reprobates steeped in vice and crime, with here and there a woman, from whom every thing womanly seemed to have utterly departed. Fired with copious draughts of liquor extorted from venders found on every corner, or voluntarily contributed by them to save their stocks from spoliation, these crowds wandered about without any very apparent aim at first, except robbery. But leaders were at hand, who soon gave direction to their brutal energies, and pointed out the work it was desirable for them to undertake. They followed, without requiring particularly explicit instructions ; tearing up railroad tracks in the heart of the city ; sacking and burning the houses of prominent abolitionists ; hunting down and murdering negroes under the most revolting circumstances ; attacking, plundering, and setting fire to the dwellings of the mayor and postmaster ; assail-

ing the "Tribune" printing-house; fighting with the police and military, who, after considerable delay appeared in the streets; and finally, crowning the ignominy of their proceedings by destroying the Colored Orphan Asylum, — in which some hundreds of children were provided for by private charity, — and treating these helpless and friendless young creatures with shameful cruelty.

From the commencement of the riot, clothing, provisions, liquor, money, and indeed plunder of all sorts, seemed the great attractions to the mob.

On Monday evening, a large number gathered in the vicinity of Brooks Brothers clothing establishment, on the corner of Catharine and Cherry Streets, broke into the store, and helped themselves to every thing they could carry away.

Hearing what was going on, various bodies of professional thieves from other cities hurried to New-York as soon as possible, to help gather the rich harvest that seemed to be awaiting them. Away up in the avenues close by Harlem, the German tailors lost every thing they had, and were glad to escape with their lives. Men covered with rags and dirt would emerge from their shops, carrying dozens of articles, such as they never thought of wearing or using themselves, merely to give away, or to dispose of for such prices as they could get. Highway robberies were perpetrated in broad daylight, and within a few squares of the police-stations, by the dozen.

Near the corner of Thirty-fourth Street and Second Avenue, Col. O'Brien, of the Eleventh New York, in attempting to stay the progress of the riot, fired his pistol into the crowd, and killed a woman. The act

cost him his life. Not only was he shot down, but furiously set upon by the rum-maddened rioters, and, before he was dead, dragged along the sidewalk by a rope around his neck. It was in vain for any one to intercede for the colonel as a wounded man. Not even a priest was allowed to see him before he died; the pitiless ruffians about suffering no one to come near, but firing a pistol-ball into the colonel's body occasionally, or hurling a paving-stone or brickbat upon him, as he lay insensible, but still breathing.

The fiendish hatred of the mob towards colored people broke out Monday evening against a negro cartman, who was seized, while near his own home, in Carmine Street, and beaten with clubs and cudgels till he was insensible. A rope was then put round his neck, and he was hauled to the sidewalk fronting St. John's Cemetery, Clarkson Street, where the rope was thrown over a limb of one of the trees; and, for no other cause than that God had given him a dark skin, he was brutally put to death.

As he was hanging in the air, a fire was kindled beneath him, and his murderers amused themselves by holding burning wisps of straw, and bundles of rags, so that they would ignite portions of his clothing. Others discharged guns and pistols at the inanimate remains, as they swung from the tree in the darkness of the night.

Shortly afterwards, the Orphan Asylum for Colored Children was set on fire, and reduced to ashes. The premises were first invaded by a heterogeneous rabble of women and children, who stole every thing it contained, even to the night-dresses of the inoffensive occupants. A flag of truce was for a short time elevated

on the sidewalk outside the building ; and the directors of the establishment besought the crowd to abstain from its demolition. But it was all in vain. Three separate times it was set on fire, and the flames extinguished by Chief-Engineer Decker, at the risk of his own life. At last the many proved too powerful for the few : the building was fired in so many parts, and the flames gained such headway, that all attempts to save it were abandoned. It is difficult to believe, but a well attested fact, that when the orphaned occupants were taken from this institution, several creatures, looking like men, gathered about the helpless children, shouting, “ Murder the —— monkeys ! ” “ Wring the necks of the —— Lincolmites ! ” and had it not been for the bravery of those who had them in charge, some must inevitably have perished.

In and about the “ Tribune ” office, the rioters were severely handled. While carrying on their work of robbery and destruction, they were charged upon by the police, who had been drilled to act as a military body. The policemen were all strong, heavy, and powerful fellows, accustomed to make quick work with rowdies ; and they swept rioters and everybody else in the street before them with irresistible impetuosity.

In less than ten minutes, the thoroughfare, which had been covered with human beings, was cleared of all but the killed and wounded, and the “ Tribune ” property saved. Many a head was broken in that brief *mêlée*, and many an exultant rioter laid out insensible upon the cobble-stones.

The most bloody battle of the week took place between First and Second Avenues, in the neighbor-

hood of Twenty-ninth Street. The robbers had gathered here in force, armed with guns and pistols, and were plundering all the stores in the vicinity. The first force of police and military sent against them they had driven back, killing one of the sergeants, and barbarously disfiguring his body. The next body, consisting of seven hundred troops, were too numerous for them, and drove every man in-doors, charging upon the houses whence fire-arms were discharged, or missiles thrown, until twenty or more of the rioters had been killed or wounded, and thirty-five taken prisoners. This about ended the riots in New York.

In Boston, on Monday evening, the 13th, an attack was made by the mob on the stores of two dealers in fire-arms, gunpowder, &c., in Dock Square, and considerable spoil obtained; but the prompt arrival of the police and military prevented any further outbreak in that vicinity. A large crowd assembled the next evening, in front of the Cooper-street Armory, for the ostensible purpose of getting at the light guns and other weapons deposited there; but, just as they began a savage assault, one of the guns heavily loaded with canister was discharged through the door into the very midst of the mob. Several were instantly killed, and a number seriously wounded. The rest dispersed in an instant; and that ended the riot in Boston.

No doubt is now felt, that had Gen. Lee worsted the Union army at Gettysburg, these riots in New York and Boston might have enlisted so many in their support, and prevailed to such an extent, as to compel a compromise with the rebels. But, Gen. Lee having been defeated at Gettysburg and driven back into Virginia, the riotously disposed had less heart for their

work in all parts of the country, and were easily brought to terms.

It was now President Lincoln's duty and determination to enforce the draft at all hazards. Several regiments and batteries were accordingly ordered from the Army of the Potomac to be stationed near the scenes of the late disturbances, to enable local authorities to secure the execution of the laws.

The First Regiment, being one of these, left Warrenton Junction about noon, July 30, and arrived at Governor's Island, New-York Harbor, on the afternoon of Sunday, Aug. 2, at four o'clock. At the same time, other regiments were encamped upon the Battery, City-Hall Square, Union Square, and in the forts commanding the harbor, to be at hand in numbers large enough to put down any rising, should another be attempted when the draft was resumed.

At Governor's Island, the regiment was rejoined by Col. McLaughlin, who had been absent on sick-leave since the 8th of June. Fourteen days were spent upon this island, doing camp and garrison duty, the men drilling a certain portion of every day with the great guns of Fort Columbus; when the regiment was ordered to report to Brig.-Gen. N. J. Jackson, at that time in command of the draft rendezvous on Riker's Island, New-York Harbor.

There were no conscripts to guard on Governor's Island. It is a charming spot of land between New York and Brooklyn, was the headquarters of Col. Loomis, garrisoned by several companies of regulars, the site of two of the strongest forts on the coast, and could boast the best band of music, and some of the choicest society, in the neighborhood. It was left, therefore,

with considerable regret; for Riker's Island, several miles above, was a bleak, barren, repulsive-looking place, and the duty of guarding conscripts presented nothing either desirable or agreeable.

In due time, the interrupted drafting in New-York City and the vicinity was resumed, without the slightest disturbance. Guards were stationed at all the drafting-offices; and the military was so disposed in and around the city itself, that several thousand could be concentrated within a few hours wherever they might be needed. The consequence was the peaceful resumption, continuance, and completion of the draft, until the quota was full.

At Riker's Island, where the regiment remained sixty days, the duties of the men were very arduous and trying. Drafting secured some good men, who gave no trouble in camp, served their country well in the field, and returned home upright and honorable citizens. But others were drawn, and large numbers bought up by the substitute brokers, who were as corrupt and unprincipled in their dealings with the Government as it was possible to be. This class of men required constant watching. A boat ran from the city up the East River to Riker's Island daily; and, just before it started, the conscripts and substitutes were gathered together from the various offices and depots in New York and Brooklyn, and marched down to the boat under a strong escort. The soldiers of the escort always had their guns loaded, and were under orders to fire upon any drafted man, or substitute, who stepped out of the ranks and refused to return. Notwithstanding the utmost vigilance, many escaped, disappearing in the most unaccountable manner under the

very eyes of their guards. On board the boat, they would slip overboard, or unexpectedly appear in a suit of citizen's clothing, provided for the occasion, and make off unchallenged. At the Island, every species of ruse, trick, and deception, was adopted to escape the vigilance of the sentinels; and frequently large sums of money were offered to the men on guard to induce them to turn their backs at night, and allow one or more to make off in the darkness. The conscripts and substitutes were kept in a camp by themselves, regularly laid out, and divided into streets, to which they had given various peculiar and significant names. Their friends were allowed to come and see them by obtaining a pass from Gen. Canby, then in command of the defences of New-York Harbor; and many of them injudiciously brought bottles of strong drink with them, which caused, until the practice was stopped, no little trouble to the officers and soldiers of the guard.

An immense amount of gambling was carried on among the drafted men, who usually had large sums of money about them; and frequently robberies were perpetrated among them to the extent of hundreds of dollars from one individual. As discipline was indispensable, the worst characters among them frequently brought severe punishment upon themselves by their utter defiance of all the rules and regulations of war. They were confined in the guard-house, compelled to police the camp under a guard, or had a ball and chain attached to their ankles, which they wore until willing to conform to the salutary regulations of the rendezvous. The subsistence furnished by the post-commisary was substantial, nutritious, and abundant; while

the quarters were simple A tents, of good quality, containing ample accommodations for three men each.

There were a large number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers attached to the rendezvous, who had special charge of the conscripts and substitutes, and accompanied the boats that carried them weekly, in companies or battalions, to Alexandria, Va., where they were disembarked, and forwarded by rail to Gen. Meade's army on the Rapidan. Some were sent to other departments; but the bulk were enrolled among the Union troops in Virginia.

The presence of such a large body of men afforded a rich field for missionary operations on the island, which were carried on as largely as possible by the agents of the Bible Society, the Tract Society, and the Christian Commission. All the men who would take them were supplied with Testaments and tracts previous to their departure for the seat of war; some of which, doubtless, were retained during subsequent campaigns, and did great good to the readers. Weekly religious newspapers were likewise distributed in large numbers, and services held in the open air every Sunday, when the weather would permit.

Two days in the week were called "visiting-days;" and, on those occasions, the friends and acquaintances of the soldiers came from the city in large numbers, to spend a few hours in their society. An intimation had been given, that the First Regiment, being so near Massachusetts, would be allowed to go home as a body, and pass a few days among friends; but the pressure of duties on Riker's Island was so great, that this was found to be impossible, and very many of the friends came to the island instead. Sev-

eral officers and soldiers had their wives, mothers, and other friends with them for some time ; and the ladies became speedily inured to the hardships of camp-life, and bore them quite as well as did the sterner sex. Several distinguished gentlemen visited the place during the month of September, among whom were Gens. Sickles, Canby, and Dix ; Gov. John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts ; and Mayor Frederick W. Lincoln, jun., of Boston.

The latter gentleman came, in company with a delegation from the Boston Board of Aldermen and City Council, to present the regiment a handsome banner of blue silk, which had been procured for the purpose. It was artistically painted by Savory ; having on one side the State coat-of-arms, with suitable inscriptions, and on the other the seal of the city of Boston, around which clustered the names of all the battles in which the Massachusetts First had been distinguished during the war. His Honor Mayor Lincoln made a patriotic speech of presentation, which was suitably responded to by Col. McLaughlin in behalf of the regiment, after which a dress-parade was held, and the principal guests of the day, with the field, staff, and line officers of the regiment, resorted to the dining-hall of Col. McLaughlin's field and staff, and partook of a bountiful collation.

Among those present on this occasion was Col. Frank Howe, Superintendent of the New-England Soldiers' Relief Association, of New York, one of the most useful and praiseworthy institutions of the day. At the commodious rooms of the association, 197 Broadway, thousands of soldiers were received, cared for, fed, clothed, nursed when sick or wounded, and prop-

erly prepared for burial if they died. A large committee of New-York ladies served gratuitously in the several departments ; and the contributions of the benevolent kept larder and clothes-press well filled. Divine services were provided on Sunday for such as were unable to go out of the building ; preachers and singers alike contributing their gifts for the common good. In fact, the establishment was a genuine home for any tired, sick, wounded, friendless, or penniless soldier who happened to be in New York, where he was sure of a welcome, of rest and shelter, of food for the body and mind, of clothing such as he needed, and of something in his pocket when he started for home on furlough, or for the army at his furlough's expiration.

Notwithstanding the double duties required of the regiment on Riker's Island, their numbers here were considerably diminished, and their labors increased, by the departure on the 19th of September of Companies A, B, and G, under command of Lieut.-Col. Baldwin, to David's Island, at the entrance of Long-Island Sound, to guard rebels who had been wounded in battle, and were brought there, prisoners of war, for medical and surgical treatment. The buildings and other accessories of this place were vastly superior to those upon Riker's Island ; and it was with regret that Company A, being relieved on the 26th of September, and Companies B and G on the 6th of October following, left, by command of Gen. Canby, and reported for duty at the latter place again.

At the completion of the New-York draft, all the regiments and batteries detached from the Army of the Potomac for special service in and around the city,

were relieved from duty by Gen. Dix, and ordered to report to Gen. Halleck, at Washington. Detachments of regulars were sent to occupy their places, where troops were still needed; and elsewhere camps were broken up altogether, and matters restored to their former condition. Thursday afternoon, Oct. 15, the First Regiment embarked on board the steamer "John Romer," for Jersey City, where a train of cars was in waiting to convey them to Washington.





CHAPTER XVIII.

KELLY'S FORD, LOCUST GROVE, AND BRANDY STATION.

" Watchman, what of the night?
Are there signs in the east that augur the day?
Or still doth the blackness of darkness there lay?
We list to the trummings that herald the storm,
To the roll of the drum, and the order to form. •

Form, form, infantry form!
Close up! is the word; and prepare for the charge!
Close up! is the shout on the hill, by the marge;
Close up, where they fall! and forward again
Where the lightnings shall flash, and descend the hot rain."

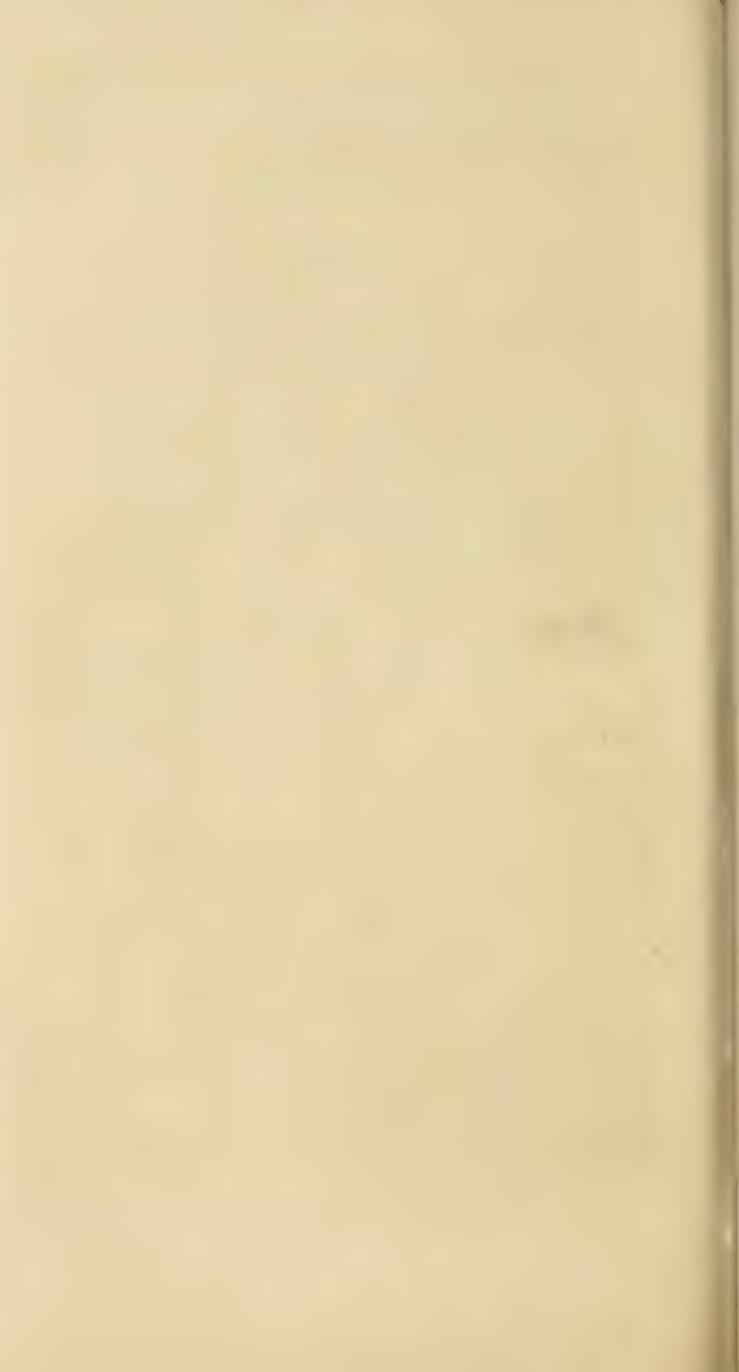
ANON.

THE main body of Gen. Lee's forces had been encamped near Orange Court House during the months of August and September, while the troops of Gen. Meade held Culpepper Court House and vicinity. Both parties had remained inactive until Gen. Hooker's departure for the reënforcement of Gen. Rosecrans, in Tennessee; when Gen. Lee, having ascertained that he had taken with him two corps from the Army of the Potomac, began to manœuvre his troops so as to gain some advantage over Gen. Meade's diminished forces.

Keeping up a show of numbers in front of the Union lines, several rebel divisions were put in motion with a view of turning the Federal left. Penetrating this design, before it could be carried into execution, Gen. Meade evacuated Culpepper Court House on Saturday, the 10th, and began to fall back upon Centreville. At



THE DEAD SOLDIER IN LOCUST GROVE.



some points, the enemy had anticipated him; but as he moved by direct parallel roads bordering the railroad, while Gen. Lee's columns were forced to follow circuitous and little-travelled pathways through the woods, he thereby gained important advantages of position daily, which enabled him to avoid the engagement the rebels were trying to force upon him, until he reached the intrenchments on Centreville Heights. Frequent skirmishes took place between the cavalry of both parties, resulting in success first for one side and then for the other.

On the 14th of October, the second corps, under Gen. Warren, constituting Gen. Meade's rear-guard, was suddenly attacked by the rebel advance, under A. P. Hill. It was an extremely premature and ill-advised movement for the rebel general, and resulted disastrously to his men. Gen. Warren arranged his corps to contest the rebel advance, so that a large body were hidden behind a railroad embankment. No sooner had the enemy reached this, thinking all clear on the other side, than they were greeted with a well-directed fire, which brought them to a stand. A fierce conflict immediately ensued, lasting until night: when the enemy were driven at all points, losing five guns, a large number of killed and wounded, and four hundred and fifty of their number made prisoners. The Union loss was fifty-one killed, and three hundred and fifty-nine wounded. Not caring to repeat such a costly experiment, Gen. Hill fell back, leaving the second corps in possession of the field; and on the next morning Gen. Warren quietly crossed Broad Run, and came up with the bulk of Gen. Meade's forces, occupying a fortified position beyond Bull Run.

Here the First Regiment found them, on the afternoon of the 17th of October, quietly encamped at Union Mills and vicinity; and upon reporting for orders to Gen. French, then in command of the third corps, it was straightway assigned to its former place in the first brigade and second division.

It was impossible for Gen. Lee to part with any considerable number of his troops, at this time, without being seriously embarrassed during the winter; therefore, upon learning of the disaster which had befallen A. P. Hill's corps, he gave up his attempt to flank the Union forces, and fell back to the line of the Rappahannock. He was closely followed by the Union columns, who, in turn, became pursuers.

The first brigade started, on the morning of Monday, Oct. 19, for Broad Run, where it arrived at noon, and went into bivouac. Considerable artillery firing had been heard during the day, caused principally by encounters between our own and the enemy's cavalry. From Oct. 20 to Nov. 7, gradual advances were made upon the enemy's position, by the way of Greenwich, Catlett's Station, Bealton, and Warrenton Junction, until the old camping-ground between the Rapidan and Rappahannock was again within our grasp.

Every day had its movements, conducted with great caution, secrecy, and strategetic skill, to baffle the designs of the enemy, and, at the same time, secure advantages to the Union arms. Knowing the importance of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad to any portion of the army encamped in its vicinity, the rebels had utterly destroyed it, as they fell back towards the Rapidan, burning bridges, blowing up culverts, demolishing water-tanks and depots, tearing up the track, and ren-

dering rails useless by laying them across piles of burning sleepers. This did not prevent the immediate rebuilding of the road by Union soldiers, however, who followed closely after, with sleepers cut from the neighboring forests, and new rails brought up from Alexandria. Guerillas sometimes interfered with the working parties, or made a dash upon the stock-in-trade of some unfortunate sutler, as it passed towards the front ; but no other hinderances were encountered, and the work of reconstruction went on almost as fast as the work of demolition had been accomplished.

Soon after the death of Assistant Surgeon Gunn, Dr. Isaiah L. Pickard was appointed in his stead, who joined the regiment at Boonsboro', after the battle of Gettysburg, and continued with it until the men were mustered out of service, at the end of their three-years' term of enlistment. He was then appointed surgeon in one of the Western colored regiments, with which he continued during the whole of Gen. Grant's siege of Richmond and Petersburg, and finally went to Texas, under Gen. Sheridan, and died there, of intermittent fever, on the 20th of July, 1865. Dr. Pickard was much esteemed by the officers and men with whom he was associated, and proved himself in every respect a meritorious officer.

On the 31st of July, 1863, Assistant Surgeon T. Fletcher Oakes, having been promoted surgeon of the Fifty-sixth Massachusetts Veteran Regiment, took leave of the First ; and Dr. John B. Garvie, of Boston, was assigned to the vacant place. Dr. Garvie came to the regiment at Riker's Island, remained about six weeks, when he was taken sick, and, after an absence of twenty days, compelled to resign his position.

First Lieut. John S. Clark was commissioned captain on the 22d of September, 1863, and soon after placed in Command of Company E.

Gen. Lee supposed himself so secure in the line he had taken, in October, that, by the first week in November, most of his troops had constructed comfortable log-huts, and gone into them for winter-quarters. In Southern fashion, they had "reckoned" that the Army of the Potomac would not disturb them again before spring. At Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, the enemy had built several redoubts, connected by a strong row of rifle-pits, which were held in force by a detachment stationed there for this purpose.

The third and sixth corps got possession of a hill commanding these redoubts on the afternoon of Nov. 7; and, while the batteries were hotly engaged, several regiments waded the river, stormed the breastworks, in face of a furious fire from the sharp-shooters, and captured nearly a thousand prisoners. Bridges were constructed immediately, across which the two corps moved upon other portions of the enemy's intrenchments, seeming to take them everywhere by surprise, and forcing them out of their comfortable winter-quarters into the woods south of the Rapidan, with a loss of all their redoubts, four guns, eight battle-flags, over one hundred killed and wounded, and nearly two thousand prisoners. The Union loss was three hundred and seventy killed and wounded; the disparity being occasioned by the exposure of the storming-parties, as they crossed the river and climbed the bank on the opposite side, under fire from the enemy's field-works and rifle-pits.

The capture of Kelly's Ford caused an immediate

abandonment by the enemy of all their works on the Rappahannock, and the retreat of their troops to the south side of the Rapidan. The Union army pushed forward as they fell back ; and Gen. Meade established his headquarters at Brandy Station on the morning of Nov. 11, holding a line several miles in length, extending from Culpepper Court House on the right, to the vicinity of Jacob's Mills on the left.

A plan was devised shortly after by Gen. Meade, of crossing the Rapidan at several fords ; interposing a strong force between the right and left wings of Gen. Lee's army ; engaging them, if possible, separately ; and crushing one after the other. It was a promising scheme, if well and promptly carried out.

The movement was to have commenced on the 20th of November ; but hard rains, which set in at that time, delayed its execution for a few days, so that the troops did not move until the 26th of the same month. Early in the morning of that day, a start was made towards the Rapidan ; and, notwithstanding the miry condition of the roads, the river was reached a little after noon. The Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania Regiment was detailed for skirmish duty, and crossed the river by wading ; driving before them upon the opposite bank a few mounted pickets who disputed their passage, and holding the top while the pontoniers proceeded to construct a bridge for the rest of the corps. It was finished before dark, and immediately made use of. An advance of two miles was made in the direction of the enemy before their pickets were encountered ; when the corps came to a halt, and went into bivouac for the night. Friday morning, Nov. 27, the men were called up without the sound of drum or bugle, and formed in line

of battle, expecting the enemy. It was ascertained shortly afterwards that the wrong road had been taken on the previous day, owing to carelessness or negligence on the part of some one, and every step must be retraced. After this had been done, another road was taken, and followed under the direction of a negro guide, until the pickets of the enemy were reached. Company D at once advanced through the woods, in line, as skirmishers, under command of Capt. E. W. Stone, jr., and succeeded in forcing back the rebel advance upon their first line of battle. The Union soldiers pushed forward after them, till they came in sight of a road, along which the rebel baggage-wagons and ambulances were being driven at a rapid rate, when they met with a firm resistance from the enemy in front, and came to a halt for orders.

As Gen. Meade wished to avoid a general engagement at this point, while he carried on certain important movements elsewhere, nothing but skirmishing took place from noon until four o'clock in the afternoon. The woods where the rebels lay concealed were very thick, hiding them entirely from observation; and the only disposition they at first manifested was to act wholly on the defensive. Having been reënforced in course of the day, however, they became, in turn, the assailants, and attempted to flank certain portions of the corps by breaking in between unconnected regiments or brigades. The manœuvre had been foreseen, and was provided against. Sections of artillery were stationed in the roads and open spaces, which swept in every direction the ground over which they must advance. The First Regiment had by this time been relieved from duty on the skirmish-line by the Elev-

enth New Jersey and Fifth Excelsior Regiments, and was stationed in reserve as support for Battery K, Fourth United-States Artillery, and a section of Clark's New-Jersey Battery.

The rebels came on in their usual manner, with yells and furious volleys, endeavoring to intimidate the brave fellows who had been drawn up against them. Finding this could not be done, they pressed down upon our line in overwhelming numbers, gaining, just before dark, a temporary advantage. Reënforcements arrived for the Federal troops at this juncture; and the advance of the enemy was checked. Just as the sun was setting, volleys of musketry from both sides were very rapid, interspersed with a considerable number of shells from the artillery. Very little damage was, however, inflicted upon either party, inasmuch as the dense character of the forest, with the obscurity of approaching night prevented any one from taking aim. Soon after dark, the firing ceased on both sides; and during the night the enemy fell back to a high ridge beyond Mine Run.

The battle of the 27th had been fought almost entirely by the third corps in a wood called Locust Grove; and, although we lost a large number killed and wounded, several hundred prisoners were captured from the enemy, and his lines forced back beyond the plank-road leading to Orange Court House.

The losses in the First Regiment were as follows, viz.: —

Killed: William C. Hull, Company C.

Wounded: Corporal William A. West, Company B, arm and side; George M. Glover, Company C, slight flesh-wound; Joseph A. Richardson, Company F,

trifling ; Eli Veazie, Company H, hand and arm, severe ; Thomas O'Brien, Company I, head, not dangerous ; Corporal William Evans, Company K, arm, slight ; Robert Goode, Company K, insignificant ; Thomas Parkinson, Company K, slight.

On the morning of the 28th, the march was resumed, and continued in a drenching rain beyond a place called Robinson's Tavern. The enemy had here opposed a brief resistance, but were driven back with loss by the second corps.

Connection was formed the next day with Gen. Warren on the left, and under his direction preparations made to storm the enemy's intrenchments. Not only his own corps, but several divisions from other corps, had been placed at his disposal, which were to assault the rebel position in front ; while Gen. Meade, with the remainder of the army, attacked them on the flank. The assault was to be made at daylight on the 30th. Few men slept much that night. Visions of home and remembrances of Fredericksburg flitted through the mind. The rebel position was remarkably strong, and all its approaches were covered with artillery ; so that the old soldiers knew it could not be taken without a great sacrifice of life. All night long fatigue-parties were at work, strengthening what was already impregnable ; and they whom the intense cold prevented from sleeping, heard their picks and shovels ring against the stones and clods they struck in course of their labors. The morning dawned raw and misty ; and with the first streak of light our batteries began to play upon the left and centre of the enemy's works. During the bombardment, Gen. Warren made a final reconnoissance to ascertain the best place for an as-

sault, but was so impressed with the formidable nature of the lines to be carried, the frightful cost of life and limb their capture must occasion, and the uncertainty of holding them, even providing they were taken, that he humanely concluded not to risk the attempt. For this he was severely censured in certain quarters ; never by the soldiers who were on the ground. They were all ready to charge the works, had the order been given, but were perfectly assured that hundreds, if not thousands, of lives must have been sacrificed, without obtaining any advantage commensurate with so costly an expenditure.

The rebels kept busily at work all day, strengthening their intrenchments, replying only now and then to the artillery shots which were sent among them from the Union batteries. At dark, our forces began gradually to fall back. A portion of Gen. Gregg's cavalry had been surprised, on the previous day, in vicinity of Parker's Store ; and the First Regiment was detached from the brigade, and sent to his support. The companies went into bivouac close by the road, remaining undisturbed till morning, when they followed as rear-guard of the division, to the Rapidan. The enemy pursued slowly with cavalry, but did not reach the retreating columns until the troops had crossed the river, and appeared drawn up ready for action on the other side. The First crossed at Culpepper-Mine Ford on a pontoon-bridge, and then proceeded down the left bank of the river to a point opposite Ely's Ford, where the cavalry of the enemy were seen drawn up along the edge of the woods. These were prevented from crossing by a few well-directed shells exploded above their heads, which drove them back into the woods.

The troops were now entirely out of rations and forage; and great complaint was made against the commissary department for inattention or neglect. Some of the soldiers had not so much as one cracker in their haversacks; and most of the officers obtained forage for their horses by forced levies upon the corn-cribs of the neighborhood. By great exertions, one day's subsistence was obtained; and, early in the morning of Dec. 3, the march was resumed towards Brandy Station. The old camping-ground was reached at three in the afternoon; and the men at once began in earnest to prepare for winter-quarters.

For several days in succession, the rebels crossed the Rapidan at some of the fords, and made cavalry or artillery assaults upon our lines; but in every instance they were driven back so promptly, that they soon abandoned these excursions, and both armies gave themselves up to observation and repose. The Union camps resounded with the strokes of axes; with the sound of trowel and pick; of spade, hammer, and saw. Trees fell by thousands daily; and substantial cabins, well plastered with mud, and covered with shelter-tents, appeared in regular lines in all the camps. The rations were greatly improved about this time, owing, no doubt, to the result of a court-martial in Washington, which had sent a defrauding coffee-contractor to prison for five years.

In the month of December, an important raid was made by Gen. Averill into the enemy's lines, which resulted in the destruction of valuable supplies and material, costing, in the aggregate, millions of dollars. At Salem, on the 16th, three depots were destroyed, containing two thousand barrels of flour, ten thousand bush-

els of wheat, one hundred thousand bushels of shelled corn, fifty thousand bushels of oats, two thousand barrels of meat, several cords of leather, one thousand sacks of salt, thirty-one boxes of clothing, twenty bales of cotton, one hundred wagons, and a large quantity of saddles, harnesses, shoes, equipments, tools, oil, and tar. In other places, bridges, cars, lumber, and culverts were destroyed, and the railroad track torn up for miles. All this was accomplished with a loss of only six men drowned, four wounded, and ninety missing. All the rebel cavalry, and several brigades of infantry, formed across the roads in the rear of Gen. Averill to intercept his return ; but he managed to elude their vigilance, at the same time capturing from them two hundred prisoners and one hundred and fifty horses.

Camp-life at Brandy Station was similar to camp-life everywhere else. The winter was unusually dry and very cold. Whenever it was possible, drills were had in the open air ; and dress-parades closed every day if the weather was not too inclement. Furloughs and leaves of absence were granted on the same basis previously established by Gen. Hooker, of which many of the officers and men availed themselves. Christmas-boxes were brought to the soldiers in large numbers Dec. 25, owing to some new arrangement made between the Provost-Marshal General and the Adams Express Company ; and hundreds of soldiers were regaled that day on quantities of home viands forwarded for their consumption.

At this station, the Christian and Sanitary Commissions did noble service for the Union army, saving undoubtedly by their timely ministrations many a val-

uable life, and making the soldiers realize that the whole country was interested in their welfare, and willing to contribute liberally to promote it. Whatever was needed in the way of reading-matter, delicacies for the sick, clothing, blankets, comforters, &c., could always be obtained of the Sanitary Commission, upon a requisition from any surgeon in the army; and the Christian Commission, besides supplying these things, together with many thousand copies of the principal religious papers of the day, procured and loaned large chapel-tents, capable of accommodating two or three hundred persons, to such regiments and brigades as wished them, sending delegates to preach where there were no chaplains, by whom large numbers of believers were strengthened, encouraged, and comforted, hundreds of sinners led to see the error of their ways, the intemperate and profligate in part reclaimed, profanity, dishonesty, gambling, demoralization arrested, and the word of God put into every soldier's hands that would receive it.

During January, 1865, a large number of troops, amounting in some instances to whole companies and regiments, having reënlisted for three years, or during the war, were allowed the thirty-days' furlough promised to all such reënlisted men by the authorities at Washington; and went home to enjoy it. In a majority of cases, these soldiers received large bounties from town, State, and national treasuries, with permission to include what remained of their former term of service in the new term.

During the winter, Col. McLaughlin was tried by court-martial, on several frivolous charges brought against him by the division commander, and triumph-

antly acquitted on them all; the court declaring that there had been no occasion for his arrest, and that it was to be regretted that one officer should care so little for the reputation and happiness of a brother-officer, as to subject him to such a needless and annoying experience.

Culpepper and Stevensburg, both within our lines at this time, were frequently visited, and to the Northerner presented a forlorn and dreary appearance. The former had been a place of considerable importance, containing five or six hundred inhabitants, most of whom had turned out rabid secessionists, and left the vicinity; so that the old town gradually went to decay, and presented a pitiable picture of general prostration, neglect, and uncleanness. Stevensburg was only four miles distant, and had but half a dozen bleak-looking houses, fenceless and forsaken, inhabited mainly by contrabands.

Close by the camp of the First was the residence of Hon. John Minor Botts. He was on good terms with the Union soldiers, and frequently invited their officers to his house. In the expression of his opinions, he was fearless and outspoken, and from the beginning to the end maintained that the Federal arms would prevail.

A movement was made on the afternoon of Saturday, Feb. 6, in support of a reconnoissance in force, which called the entire division out towards the Rapidan. One night, and a considerable portion of the next day, was spent in the vicinity of one of the fords; but none of the enemy's forces were encountered, and the division returned. Most of the second corps crossed the river a little lower down, not waiting for the pontoon train, but plunging into the ice-cold stream, and

wading across under fire. They lost nearly two hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners, but drove the enemy out of their rifle-pits, captured fifty men, and remained on the south bank of the Rapidan until the object of the reconnoissance was fully accomplished.

The camp at Brandy Station was close by the railroad depot, convenient of access, and quite a resort for friends from abroad. Liberal provision was made for amusements during the winter; and several halls and rows of hospital tents were fitted up for balls, dances, and lectures or concerts.

On the 21st of February, a delegation from Boston visited the regiment, composed of Hon. Frederick W. Lincoln, jun., the mayor, Ex-Gov. Washburne, Alderman Otis Norcross, John P. Healy Esq., city solicitor, and Messrs. Warren and Wells of the council. They staid but one night, making that very pleasant, however, by their patriotic speeches to the soldiers.

On the 27th of February, a raid of great magnitude was attempted upon the communications of the enemy near Richmond. The sixth, and a portion of the third corps, moved to Madison Court House and the heights along Robertson's River; while the cavalry under Gens. Custar and Kilpatrick pushed round to the rear of the rebel army, destroying bridges, stores, factories, and military property, penetrating as far as the farm of J. A. Seddon, the rebel secretary of war, only a few miles from Richmond itself. Here the ignorance or treachery of a negro guide misled the detachment under command of Col. Dahlgren, so that it was unable to join Gen. Kilpatrick, as previously agreed, at Ashland, to unite in an attack on Richmond, where, at that time, there were very few troops; and the grand object

of the raid was defeated. A large amount of property was destroyed belonging to the enemy, the utmost consternation created throughout the city, and important captures made.

The Union loss was one hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and prisoners, including the lamented Col. Ulric Dahlgren.

On the 29th of February, an act of Congress was passed reviving the grade of lieutenant-general; and President Lincoln immediately sent the name of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant to the Senate for confirmation in this office. On the 3d of March, his appointment was confirmed, and he was made principal officer, or general-in-chief of all the land forces in the United States.

He accepted the appointment, and immediately transferred his headquarters from the west to the east, choosing the Army of the Potomac as the particular body of troops with which from that day his fortunes were to be identified. On the 19th of March, he left Nashville, and proceeded, without delay and without parade, to Culpepper, where he began to make preparations for another advance upon Richmond. The Army of the Potomac was immediately reorganized throughout. The first and third corps were broken up, and their divisions, brigades, and regiments distributed among the second, fifth, and sixth corps; these latter to be three grand corps of the Army of the Potomac, commanded respectively by Gens. Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick. They consisted of thirty thousand men each, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, under the general command of some one field-officer like Gen. Meade or Gen. Smith, who received orders from Gen. Grant in person, with certain discretionary limitations; and,

other things being equal, the responsibility of failure or success rested solely with the conqueror of Vicksburg.

The third corps having been broken up, the second division became the fourth division of the second corps; the third division going into the sixth corps, and the first becoming the third of the second corps. The first brigade remained intact, parting with the Eleventh Massachusetts and Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania, and receiving the whole of what had been called the third, or Jersey, brigade, consisting of the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth New-Jersey, and the One Hundred and Fifteenth Pennsylvania Regiments. This gave us as brigade commander, Gen. Motte, and sent Col. Blaisdell into the second, or Excelsior brigade, commanded by Col. Brewster of the first Excelsior. Gen. Prince passed into the sixth corps, and Gen. French was relieved, and sent to Philadelphia.

It seems hardly proper that so important an organization as that of the third corps should pass out of existence without a reference to its heroic deeds, and the mention, at least, of some among its brave and accomplished officers. On the 20th of March, it had twenty thousand infantry besides artillery. It was one of the original *corps d'armée* organized before the Peninsular campaign in March, 1862, and was then composed of Heintzelman's, Porter's, and Hooker's divisions. After Heintzelman was appointed commander of the corps, Gen. Hamilton took command of his division. At that time, there were the following general officers in the third corps,—Hamilton, Hooker, and Porter commanding first, second, and third divisions respectively. In the first division,

Jameson and Birney commanded brigades ; and in the second division were Sickles, Grover, and Patterson. Morrell, Butterfield, and Martindale had brigades in the third division.

During the siege of Yorktown, it became important to make certain changes in the organization of the corps ; and the third division was detached, and formed the nucleus of the fifth corps, under Gen. F. J. Porter. About the same time, Hamilton was relieved from command of the first division, and Gen. Kearney assigned to the vacant position. There were now but two divisions in the corps, and they could not be excelled in the Army of the Potomac. Kearney and Hooker were then the chieftains of the third corps. Heintzelman retained chief command during all these division mutations. He fought his corps bravely and heroically through the Peninsular campaign, until after the second battle of Bull Run and Chantilly, when the indomitable Kearney was slain.

In September, 1862, these two divisions, that had fought side by side through that terrible campaign on the banks of the Chickahominy, were separated for almost two months. About the middle of November, Gen. Stoneman, as senior officer, assumed command of the corps, which position he retained until February, 1863, when he was placed in command of the cavalry. The President at the same time appointed Gen. Daniel E. Sickles as corps commander.

For commanders, the first division had Heintzelman, Hamilton, Kearney, Stoneman, and Birney ; second division, Hooker, Sickles, Berry, Humphreys, and Prince. Jameson, Robinson, Graham, and Collis had commanded the first brigade of the division. The

second brigade had had such officers as Sedgwick, Birney, and Ward.

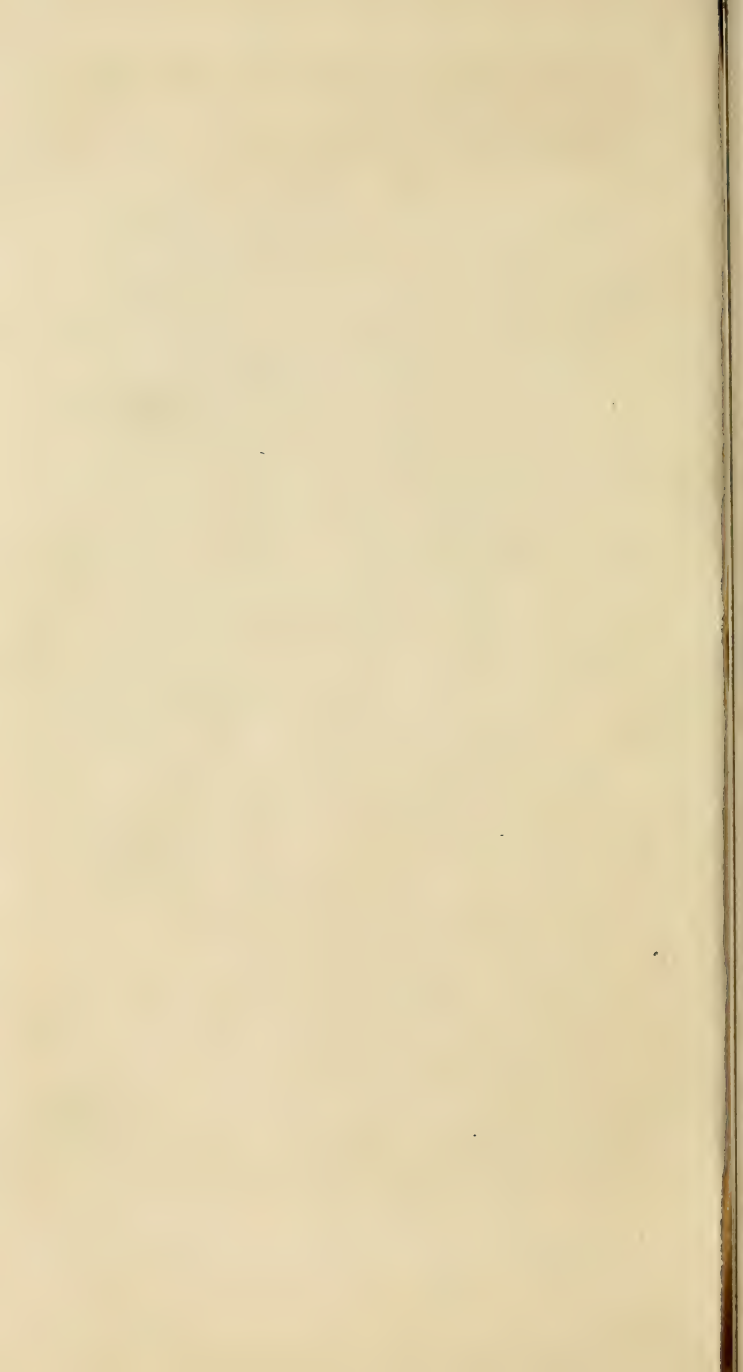
This corps educated generals, and gave to eminence such names as the following: Major-Gens. Heintzelman, Hamilton, Sedgwick, Sickles, Stoneman, Birney, Kearney, Hooker, Richardson, Berry, Howard, and Whipple.

From May 5, 1862, till Nov. 27, 1863, the corps was in twenty different engagements, including Seven Pines, Williamsburg, The Orchards, Fair Oaks, Glendale, White-oak Swamp, Malvern Hill, Bull Run, Manassas, Bristow Station, Chantilly, Chancellorsville; Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Kelly's Ford, and Locust Grove. The history of the third corps should be consolidated among the annals of the war. The divisions, brigades, and regiments of the corps were thenceforth scattered among other commands; but their gallant achievements, from the time of organization, in March, 1862, till their consolidation with other corps, in March, 1864, will never be forgotten.

The transferred divisions preserved the same badges and distinctive marks which they had worn previous to the reorganization; so that the fourth division of the second corps was still known as Hooker's old division, and the members still wore the white lozenge, or diamond, on their caps, which distinguished them from all the other divisions in the Army of the Potomac.



CAVALRY CHARGE NEAR SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT-HOUSE.





CHAPTER XIX.

BATTLES OF THE WILDERNESS AND SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT HOUSE.

" All day long the battle raged,
With clang of guns and bugles' breath,
In the tangled swamps of the Wilderness,
Through dusky thickets dim with death.
All day the fierce tide surged and swung
With crash and shriek and cannon's tone,
While, far along the glimmering lines,
Proudly our golden eagles shone." — ANON.

" Now for the fight, now for the cannon-peal!
Forward! through blood and toil and cloud and fire!
Glorious the shout, the shock, the crash of steel,
The volley's roll, the rocket's blasting spire:
They shake, like broken waves their squares retire —

In thunder on them wheel! " — KÖRNER.

DURING the months of March and April, as the weather became pleasant, and the ground dry and hard, various amusements were introduced among the soldiers; such as foot and base-ball playing, gymnastic exercises with the cross-bar and swing, leaping, running, and quoits. The regimental chapel was likewise open every evening for prayer and conference meetings, for singing and spelling schools, and for other exercises designed to elevate the moral tone of the regiment. These meetings were always well attended, and sometimes crowded. Not only did a considerable number become personally interested in religion, but

successful efforts were made, by the circulation of pledges, and otherwise, to induce a large number to give up strong drink and to abstain from profanity.

The members of the regiment anticipated their return home by preparing to appear as well on their arrival as when they came out. So much to their credit may and ought to be said, that, after being exposed to the demoralizing influences of war for three full years, they returned to the avocations of peace as quietly and industriously as any among our citizens.

Gen. Grant had no sooner reorganized than he began to review and inspect the Army of the Potomac. He was constantly at work in Culpepper with his staff and secretaries, or in the saddle, accompanied simply by one orderly, ascertaining by personal visitation the actual condition, spirit, and feelings of the men under his command. Not one of them but was permitted to approach him if he desired, for the settlement of any military difficulty; and his own friendly, unpretending manners begot for him among the troops a lively affection and growing confidence.

No one doubted, if the thing were possible, that he would be the conqueror of Richmond. The friends of Gen. Lee, and rebels generally, together with a large number of faint-hearted loyalists, said it was not possible; and that, no matter how numerous or well supplied the Union army might become, it could never be led by the way of Chancellorsville, Spottsylvania, and the North Anna and Mattaponi Rivers, to the enemy's capital.

So matters stood on the morning of May 3, 1864. Most of the troops had been moved out of the log-huts they occupied all winter, for sanitary reasons, and

were encamped in the open fields. The majority of the furloughed soldiers had returned to their posts ; and large numbers of fresh troops, including several heavy artillery regiments, and the whole of the ninth corps under Gen. Burnside, had been added to the army.

Quartermasters', commissary, and ordnance stores had been issued wherever there was need, baggage sent to the rear, the sick transferred to Washington and Alexandria, and every preparation made for an immediate advance upon the enemy. No one knew when it was to be made, because Gen. Grant kept his own counsel. So little did the members of the First Regiment anticipate it, that they were busily engaged in the reconstruction of their camp when marching orders came. Indeed, it had been rumored that the army would remain as it was for several weeks, and be reviewed, prior to its departure, by President Lincoln in person. At four o'clock, Tuesday afternoon, May 3, however, all these anticipations were dissipated, and the order came to prepare six days' rations, draw fifty rounds of ammunition per man, and be ready for a start by eleven o'clock that night.

On the same day, all the army camps were broken up, and the troops put in motion towards the Rapidan.

Considerable had been said and done by friends of the First Regiment in Massachusetts and at Washington, as their period of enlistment was so nearly up, to have the members spared the privations and sufferings of another campaign ; but the effort was entirely without result, and at eleven, P.M., they started, in company with the rest of the division, for Ely's Ford.

A division of cavalry under Gen. Gregg had preceded

ed the corps, repairing the roads, and protecting the engineers who laid the pontoons, by whom scarcely any resistance was encountered from the enemy. Only a few vedettes were seen upon the right bank of the river, who retired without contesting its passage; and double bridges were immediately thrown across at Ely's and Germania Fords, upon which the several divisions of cavalry and infantry, together with the artillery, at once began to cross.

The First Regiment reached the ford at eleven in the forenoon of the 4th, went over, and followed the river road in the direction of Chancellorsville.

The warm, dry weather had caused the mud to disappear, and the roads were in excellent condition; but the heat of the day, combined with the rapid marching, induced the troops to throw away blankets, shelter-tents, and an immense amount of valuable clothing, most of it new, which strewed the roadside for miles.

On the night of the 4th, Gen. Wilson's Union cavalry moved up the road to Parker's Store and Orange Court House, several miles. The rest of the army bivouacked at the Wilderness Tavern, Chancellorsville, and Germania Ford.

The First Regiment occupied ground very near to that whereon they had fought the year before; and many of the members took occasion to visit the precise localities where the ground had been so fiercely contested then. Most of the earthworks remained unchanged; and the trees were still hanging as they were left, half shot off, with bullets by the thousand, and here and there cannon-balls, visible in the wood. The earth was covered with scraps of iron, bits of leather, old canteens, rags, and bloody clothing; while scat-

tered about were seen whole skeletons, or skulls, ribs, thigh-bones, pieces of hands, feet, jaws, and arms, lying where they had fallen during the battle of the preceding year. It was not possible to tell in all cases whether these bones had belonged to friends or enemies. Occasionally something would be found to identify the remains, but not often. One former member of the First, whose skull lay bleaching upon the top of the ground, was identified by some peculiarity connected with his teeth. All the bones were re-interred before the army moved on again. As the rebels had held this spot for an entire year, their neglect was simply barbarous and inexcusable.

Gen. Lee's army was encamped in a fortified position at and near Orange Court House. Either he had been surprised by Gen. Grant's rapid advance, or had expected to be attacked behind his intrenchments; for he delayed making any movement until the Union advance was well on the way to Spottsylvania Court House, and not only his right flank, but also his railroad communications with Richmond, were in serious danger. He then hastily abandoned his intrenchments, and threw all his corps forward, so as to confront Gen. Grant's forces in the Wilderness, attempting, at the same time, to penetrate the angles of the corps flanks where the various corps formed a junction in line of battle. Had this been accomplished, it would seriously have embarrassed Gen. Grant, as his transportation had not yet crossed the river, and might thereby have been separated from the army, and exposed to capture or destruction; but it was attempted too late.

During Thursday the 5th, firing was suddenly heard in the direction of the Wilderness Tavern. Through-

out the day and night previous, not a gun had been discharged. The firing came from the forces of Gen. Ewell, which were drawn up along the old Gordonsville turnpike to the new plank-road, and were posted in the woods of the Wilderness, opposite the fifth corps. The whole region was most appropriately termed "the Wilderness," being covered with a dense growth of bushes, stunted pines, cedars, and scrub-oaks, interspersed with prostrate trees which had rotted and fallen to the ground, and pools of stagnant water; and in wet weather was one vast morass. Here Gen. Griffin, of the fifth corps, first encountered the enemy, and opened the battle of the Wilderness. His men were feeling their way through the rank vegetation, unable to distinguish objects fifty yards in front, when they received the fire of a rebel line of battle, which, without any warning from pickets, or otherwise, was poured upon his soldiers as they stood. The fire was immediately returned; and a bloody action commenced, lasting, without intermission, over an hour. The combatants were close together, unable to make use of cavalry or artillery; and in this short space of time a large number were killed and wounded on both sides. The enemy were then reënforced and pushed forward, gradually forcing Gen. Griffin back upon his supports. These poured in a succession of tremendous volleys as soon as the rebels could be discerned moving in the woods, which held them in check, and finally compelled them to retire.

At this time, the fourth division of Gen. Hancock's corps was hurrying along to close up a gap existing between the sixth corps and the left centre of the Union army. The First Regiment came into position

along a forest road, leading over a slight eminence, in the direction of Germania Ford. The scouts brought in word that the enemy were before us in large numbers, and advancing. Guns were stacked in an instant; and the whole command went to work throwing up a temporary breastwork of logs and rails. Old trees were rolled up and cleared of their branches; new ones cut down as fast as the few axes procurable could be made to do service; dirt, stones, and rocks thrown up in front and rear; and in an hour's time a passable line of earthworks completed. It was hardly done before an order arrived for the whole line to advance. The woods seemed to be absolutely impenetrable. Trees were so close together, underbrush so thick, and the scrub-oaks so stiff and unyielding, that regular advances were simply impossible. The men went forward, however, in very irregular lines, going round the trees, creeping under the branches, and keeping as closely together as they were able. They had advanced thus only five or six hundred yards from the road, when, directly in front, the enemy, unseen, opened a double volley, which sent thousands of bullets crashing through the woods right into their faces. This fire, so sudden, so unexpected, and so deadly, was returned in but a feeble and scattering manner, because the men were so generally separated from their officers, and so far apart from each other, besides being perplexed by the difficulties they had encountered in forcing their way through the tangled forest, that they were comparatively without organization. The enemy answered with another terrific volley, which told with deadly effect upon the foremost groups struggling along to get into some sort of fighting array,

killing and wounding a large number, and straightway forcing the rest to fall back. Along the whole division line, the movement became at once and rapidly retrograde. Branches of trees tore off knapsacks and haversacks, knocked guns out of men's hands, and, in two or three cases, completely stripped them of their accoutrements; but they continued to retire till they reached the breastwork, and there the majority halted. The enemy then advanced to obtain possession of the road. They met with a fierce and stubborn resistance. Along the front of both corps, the soldiers immediately became engaged, almost entirely with musketry, at short distances. Only four pieces of artillery were got into position. The conflict became extremely bloody. Every shot seemed to tell. Whenever the Union troops moved forward, the rebels appeared to have the advantage. Whenever they advanced, the advantage was transferred to us. So the conflict raged for two hours, hardly a regiment knowing how fared any other regiment, owing to the impenetrable obscurity of the forest; when parts of two divisions of the fifth corps were suddenly precipitated upon the flank of Gen. A. P. Hill's corps, and became at once engaged in a fearful and obstinate encounter, which lasted, with great loss, far into the night. Gen. Alexander Hayes was killed, a number of valuable officers and a thousand of the rank and file were killed and wounded, and nearly another thousand captured. Of the rebels, Gen. J. M. Jones was killed, Gen. Stafford mortally wounded, and over three hundred captured, in addition to the killed and wounded; and their efforts to turn the left, or penetrate the centre, of the Union lines, were completely foiled.

This was the commencement of that masterly series of manœuvres, devised by Gen. Grant, and executed by his heroic troops, which kept turning the rebel right, and forcing Lee to fall back along the line of his communications, until his retreating columns disappeared behind the formidable intrenchments of Richmond itself.

During Thursday night, picket-firing was kept up at intervals throughout the night. The morning of Friday had scarcely dawned, when a fierce attack was made upon the right wing of the Union army, held by the sixth corps, under Gen. Sedgwick, which gradually extended, until it involved more or less of the sixth, second, and fifth corps in its fiery vortex of carnage and death. Both sides had thrown up intrenchments during the night, so that the attacking party on either side invariably got the worst of it. Gen. Lee had apparently formed the determination to break through the Union lines, at whatever cost. For this purpose, he mustered all his legions, and hurled them successively upon one point after another, compelling his infantry to advance, unsupported by artillery, through dense thickets of dwarf pines and stubbed chaparral, till they half-blundered, half-sprang upon the Union breastworks, behind which the Federal soldiers awaited their approach, and were hurled back again, line after line, in rapid succession, covering the ground with their dead and wounded, and compelling those nearest the intrenchments to come in and surrender by the dozen, under penalty of being shot down where they stood.

Hardly had the first volleys of the enemy echoed along the lines from the right, when the second corps,

under Gen. Hancock, following the order of battle for the day, pushed straight through the woods, and, falling upon a weakened part of the rebel left, took possession of a row of rifle-pits, captured five colors from the enemy, and forced their columns back fully two miles. The advantage was followed up to the edge of a swamp, across which an enfilading fire was encountered from intrenchments on both sides; and in storming one of these the gallant Gen. Wadsworth was instantly killed by a bullet through the head, while leading the charge. Soon after this, a portion of Gen. Hancock's corps only escaped capture by being in the woods, where their detached and unsupported condition could not be observed. The gap between the second and fifth corps being still unfilled by Gen. Burnside's command, the rebels had manœuvred so as to reach the rear of the fourth division and Gen. Motte's brigade, whose first intimation of their proximity was a rapid fire of musketry directly behind the files. The brigade was speedily faced front to the rear, and swung round so as to engage the enemy, in doing which a long rebel line of battle was encountered, which might easily have captured every regiment before them, had not a knowledge of their advantage been precluded by the density of the woods and undergrowth. As it was, confusion reigned supreme on both sides for a short time, during which Gen. Hancock's troops regained their former places in rear of the Union breastworks. There occurred now one of those strange intervals in the midst of battles, when for hours not a shot was fired on either side. It lasted until the middle of the afternoon, when Longstreet joined with A. P. Hill in making the most desperate

assault of the day. The woods and leaves at this time were on fire in all parts of the field, sending up clouds of smoke to the heavens, and throwing an impenetrable veil over every thing at a greater distance than five hundred feet. Concealed by this unexpected screen, the rebels formed four strong lines of battle, — two from each corps, — and advanced to the assault. While the smoke befriended them, it confused and impeded them at the same time; and their onset had little of the furious determination of the morning. Nevertheless, they bravely pushed up towards our first breastwork, not only staggering under the volleys of musketry poured into their columns, but contending with fire and smoke, and all the impediments of the forest. The first line, broken and wavering under the galling and repeated discharges of the Union infantry, was strengthened and steadied by the second, and this again by the third; both sides loading and firing in furious haste, till the rattle of at least fifty thousand muskets rose into an incessant roll and roar, and all the space between the combatants was swept by a perfect hurricane of death-dealing missiles. The enemy were losing fearfully; and the Union troops, behind their earthworks, slightly. This the rebels could not long endure, so the order was given to carry our works by storm. The attempt was made. Straight forward, closed in mass, right in the face of rapid volleys, which slaughtered hundreds, they came to the first breastwork. It was on fire, and had been partially abandoned. Mistaking its voluntary abandonment for its forced surrender, they leaped upon the parapet, unfurled their battle-flags, and began to cheer. Hardly had the sounds escaped their throats, when one terrific volley blazed from the Federal lines behind it,

tumbling hundreds over into the ditches, writhing in the agonies of death ; and following the volley came a charge, on the double-quick, with fixed bayonets, which swept the rampart clear of every rebel remaining upon it, drove the solid throng back into the obscurity of the woods, and made captive several hundred who could not or would not try to get away. This ended the battle on the left and centre. The fourth division of the second corps, and Gen. Stevenson's division of the ninth corps, had borne the brunt of it, and suffered very severely.

On the right, the enemy were loath to give up the attempt already ventured three times without success, and just at nightfall made another vigorous onslaught upon Gen. Sedgwick's intrenchments. This time they gained a temporary advantage. The men were mostly at work with shovels and axes, or resting from the battle. They had only the warning of the pickets a few hundred yards out, when the masses of the enemy were upon them, swarming over the earthworks, rushing after fugitives, shooting down such as would not halt when ordered, and yelling with exultation over their brief success. Gen. Seymour's brigade was at once stampeded ; and hundreds of flying men and animals began to rush through the woods towards Germania Ford, imperilling not only the right wing, but also the whole army. It was the most critical moment of the campaign. Gen. Seymour did every thing that valor, authority, and good example could do to stem the tide, but utterly in vain. It swept by him like a whirlwind, leaving him a prisoner in rebel hands. Gen. Sedgwick succeeded better. He formed a second line in rear of the one which had been so quickly and thoroughly broken, rallied many of the fugitives, and

brought the enemy to a sudden stand. Every moment they were held at bay increased the darkness fast settling upon the forest, and added to the perils of their advanced position; and though for an hour they fought with infuriated vigor, contesting every inch of ground they had gained, they were at last forced to retire, and the Union lines were re-formed. Thus it proved that Gen. Lee's troops had been outfought, and himself outgeneralled, on the right, left, and centre.

The losses during the two days' engagements had been unparalleled and appalling. Gens. Hayes, Wadsworth, and Webb had been killed, and fifteen thousand of the Union army killed, wounded, and captured. Among the captured was Lieut.-Col Baldwin of the First Regiment, who was made a prisoner while superintending the formation of the picket-line at night.

The rebel losses had been greater than ours, including Gens. Jones, Jenkins, and Pickett killed, and Gens. Pegram, Hunter, and Longstreet wounded; the latter so severely, by a bullet passing through his neck and shoulder, that he was disabled from duty for six months.

No further attempt was made to force back the right wing; and, excepting a shot now and then from the skirmishers, the night passed away in quietness. Rebel prisoners expressed great surprise that our army had not fallen back as usual, and commented, almost with enthusiasm, upon the cool and determined manner in which their most furious charges had been repulsed. They were evidently at a loss to understand what such invincible resolution might portend, and seemed depressed and chagrined by its results.

Skirmishing was resumed early Saturday morning, and continued at various points throughout the day.

The ninth corps was pushed down below the right flank of the rebel army, causing Gen. Lee to abandon his intrenchments in the Wilderness, and take up a new line on the Po River. Both armies joined in a race for Spottsylvania Court House towards night, the rebels having the inside track; and the tangled solitudes of the Wilderness were left to the dead and wounded, many of whom remained for days unburied and uncared for where they fell.

During Saturday afternoon, a battle took place between the Union and rebel cavalry, which resulted in the capture and occupation of Fredericksburg by the Union forces, and its use for three weeks or more for general hospital purposes, and as a depot of supplies. Never did soldiers seem happier than were those of the Union army to get out of the Wilderness. The country around Spottsylvania Court House was heavily wooded, but rolling and elevated, with here and there large open spaces. Most of the Union soldiers were in motion on Sunday nearly all day. During the afternoon, a severe struggle ensued with a body of the enemy on Alsop's Farm, near the Ny Run. Being in three lines, the last behind freshly constructed earthworks, they fought with the greatest bravery, and for hours withstood every effort made to dislodge them from their strong position. Late in the day, a fresh brigade went forward, and routed them at all points. The carnage was awful. One regiment which went in well officered came out under command of a first lieutenant. Another, which was two hundred strong at the commencement of the fight, counted only twenty-three men at its conclusion. The day had been intensely hot; fences, forest, and leaves were on fire in all directions;

and hundreds of men were so overcome with fatigue and the rays of the sun, that they lay about by the roadside and in the woods, utterly unable to move. Monday was comparatively quiet. The rebel sharpshooters were busy all the time, however, and sent their rifle-balls over a mile with fearful accuracy. One of them struck Gen. Sedgwick in the head, while he was superintending the planting of a battery, and killed him on the spot. There was no firing in front at the time: and the report of the gun whence the ball came was not heard by any one; but its fatal errand was accomplished nevertheless, depriving the Union army of one of its best and bravest officers in an instant.

Just at night, a portion of Gen. Hancock's corps crossed a branch of the Po River, and engaged the enemy with both infantry and artillery. Both sides charged in turn, and fought with equal valor and success; but the enemy were found so strongly posted, that the Union troops were finally recalled.

Tuesday morning, the 10th, the conflict began at half-past nine, and lasted without cessation until seven o'clock in the evening. Both sides made free use of their artillery, the reports of which were terrific all the forenoon. In the afternoon, repeated charges by the Union soldiers drove the rebels to their rifle-pits, where they took a most determined stand, and clung with inflexible tenacity for hours. Just before night, several brigades were massed in front of their lines, which, at a given signal, moved impetuously forward, and in spite of a galling fire, and every other obstacle of abatis, ditch, and rampart in their way, scaled the works, captured several guns and over a thousand prisoners, and fell back in triumph to their former places.

No words exist in human language which could convey to any one not present at this terrific encounter an adequate idea of its dreadful nature and effects ; the stunning detonations of the artillery ; the incessant rattle and roar of the musketry, reverberating in volleys by regiments, brigades, and divisions, through ravines and woods ; the explosion of shells ; the crash of cannon-balls through the trees ; the terrifying whiz and rush of canister-shot among the branches ; the shouts, shrieks, and yells of enraged, excited, or wounded combatants ; the desolation reigning over the charred and smoking field, strewn with the dead, the dying, and the wounded, whose groans of pain and cries for help seemed to intensify rather than appease the dreadful wrath that raged along the lines and hurled its deadly projectiles in furious haste from side to side, — all these combined to make an impression upon the participant or observer, such as no language could produce. At least twenty thousand men were killed, wounded, and captured on both sides as the result of this day's fighting.

On Wednesday, the 11th, the forenoon passed away in comparative quiet. During the afternoon, there was considerable heavy skirmishing, but no regular assault. Gen. Lee requested forty-eight hours' truce for the purpose of burying his dead, and attending to his wounded ; but it was refused, Gen Grant promising to bury all the dead within his lines, and to see that the wounded had the best of care.

On Wednesday, Gen. Grant sent his first despatch to Washington, closing with the memorable words, "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." During the afternoon, it began to rain for the

first time since the opening of the campaign, and continued at intervals during the night and most of the day Thursday. Wednesday night, preparations were made to surprise a portion of the enemy's intrenchments before daybreak, and carry them by storm. About one o'clock in the morning, amid the darkness and rain, Gen. Hancock formed his corps on the left, between the sixth and ninth corps. The formation was completed just at daylight. Gen. Barlow with the first division, and Gen. Birney with the second, constituted the first column; Gen. Gibbon with the third, and Gen. Mott with the fourth division, the second. It was raining at the time, and the surface of the ground covered with a thick mist. Gen. Barlow advanced his men cautiously in column of battalions doubled on the centre, followed by the second line, within supporting distance. The orders were all given in a low tone of voice, no firing allowed, and the troops kept as silent as possible. Most of the way was rough, difficult, and heavily wooded. The enthusiasm of the men rose rapidly as they neared the hostile earthworks without encountering any opposition, until the first line silently broke into a run. Those behind did the same; and, almost before the rebel pickets could challenge and fire, our troops had rushed over the intervening space, dashed aside the abatis, leaped the ditches, scaled the parapets, and plunged in among the astonished infantry, some of whom were just beginning to yawn before getting up, while the majority were fast asleep on their arms. The cannoneers of the batteries were nearly all away feeding and watering their horses, and the officers were at breakfast in or near their tents. In less than an hour, the entire division was surrounded,—

officers and men, comprising three thousand troops, with Major-Gen. Edward Johnson, and Brig.-Gen. G. H. Stewart, — and brought, on the double-quick, into the Union lines. Thirty or forty field-guns were also taken in position as they stood, and many of them dragged off. The capture of Johnson's division caused the Union soldiers unwisely to cheer, which aroused the rebels from their slumbers along the whole front, and put them upon the defensive.

A second line of earthworks was assailed as soon as the troops could be formed after capturing the first; but its holders were awake, and ready for the onset. They fought stubbornly to the last, remaining so long under cover of their ramparts, that many were captured and brought in by the foremost among the storming-party. An immediate attempt was made on the part of Gen. Lee to regain the ground he had lost. The order he issued to his men was, that they *must* retake the breastworks, and hold them against every force that was brought to the assault. Instantly and eagerly they entered upon the desperate undertaking. It was of no possible avail; the Union lines were rapidly pushed forward *en masse*; a tremendous cannonade opened from right to left; the ninth corps hurried vigorously forward towards the conquered position; the sixth was precipitated upon the unsteady battalions of Ewell's left; and the fifth advanced till they became hotly engaged with the enemy in front, so as to prevent any manœuvring to reënforce the endangered point. Success, then, became merely a question of numbers and physical strength. The enemy formed behind their second line of works only three hundred yards distant, and charged upon the first. They were al-

most instantly repelled. Fresh troops were coming to the support and relief of the charging party every moment, whose guns swept the top of the opposite parapet with a hurricane of bullets; and cannon were pushed forward as rapidly as the nature of the ground would permit, which opened at once, and rapidly increased the jeopardy of those attempting a charge. Notwithstanding all this, however, the charges were kept up for three long and bloody hours, during which the ground seemed almost covered with dead and wounded, before the rebels finally retired, and desisted from their attempts to retrieve the disaster of the morning.

On the right and centre, a furious contest was waged, resulting in no change of position to either party. On the left, a combined attempt was made, late in the day, to turn Gen. Lee's right, which resulted in partial success. At one point, the rebels held on to their intrenchments with such dogged obstinacy, and the Union troops assaulted them with such zealous eagerness, that the combatants were only separated from each other by the narrow space of the intervening earth-work; on either side of which the wounded, dying, and dead were piled up in heaps, almost to the top of the parapet. Every thing that ingenuity could invent, or daring accomplish, was attempted on both sides to gain even the slightest advantage. It seemed to be the death-grapple of the war. The Federal columns rushed forward like an avalanche, supported by the batteries, which poured in round after round of solid shot and shell: but the enemy met the shock with livid sheets of flame, which blazed along their ramparts; and hundreds of our bravest were smitten to the earth, al-

most within reach of the foe. The sight was ghastlier than any thing ever seen before in this land. Those who took part in its terrible events were muddy, bloody, and begrimed with powder, but fearless and determined, and ready to undertake whatever was required. They went forward at least a dozen times during that awful day, pouring out the best blood of the land upon the miry soil, and giving an exhibition of prowess and intrepidity without a parallel in the annals of warfare. When night fell, matters were at a dead lock. A space of ground was swept by the Union fire, across which it was indispensable for the rebels to pass, or they must abandon the position. All night long the First Regiment kept up an incessant fire across this area; the men using at least a wagon-load of cartridges, and making their guns so foul, that, before morning, they were obliged to go down to a brook below the position in squads, and wash them out.

During the night the enemy became discouraged, and fell back. At light our men crept forward; but the rebels were gone. Outside the earthworks they had erected, the ground was strewn with their dead, who had been shot down in attempting to pass over. Inside, they lay in heaps one upon another, shot mainly through the head; some of them still breathing and conscious, while the mud and water underneath and around were red with the blood still oozing from the frightful wounds they had received. Their works were extremely strong, raised from the ground, ditched with double fronts, and had traverses forty feet apart. The infantry fire to which they had been subjected was so severe, that it had gnawed down a tree eighteen inches in diameter, standing in the trench, and which

had fallen on a mass of their dead, lying where they were shot down, crushing them together in a manner frightful to behold. Other trees of smaller dimensions were cut asunder, and the soil torn up in furrows where cannon-balls had ploughed their way into the bowels of the earth.

Friday, the 13th, it continued rainy ; and no demonstration of any magnitude was made by either side. Saturday, the 14th, the enemy having fallen back, Gen. Grant stretched his lines across the Fredericksburg and Spottsylvania road, having all his corps in position, from the front to the rear, and diligently at work with pick and spade. On the extreme left, there was some hard fighting, but no general engagement. During the afternoon, Gen. Meade narrowly escaped capture by the enemy, being in a house upon which they made an unlooked-for charge, having doubtless been informed by their scouts that he was there. Sunday, the 15th, positions were changed for the better, where it was possible, and our whole line greatly strengthened by intrenchments and traverses. In the forenoon, while the First Regiment were resting in rear of their former position, the men observed some rebels stealing towards the unoccupied rifle-pits of the Union army, and without waiting for orders, except from company commanders, rushed forward to their rescue ; and, having reached them first, drove the rebels back upon their supports. This position they held for the rest of the day, and throughout Monday, the 16th, and Monday night, although it was exposed to a cross-fire from the enemy's artillery. Early Tuesday morning, the 17th, Gen. Birney's troops took position in the rifle-pits, and relieved the First. On the next day, the old posi-

tion of the 12th instant was reoccupied, and held till near midnight, when it was exchanged for the breast-works previously held on Sunday, the 15th.

Marching was resumed the next morning, May 19, and continued across the Po River to a place known as Anderson's Plantation, where the regiment went into bivouac among the reserves for the first time since it left Brandy Station. Soon after four o'clock, P.M., Ewell's corps attempted to cut the Union communications with Fredericksburg, and capture such of the wagon-trains as might be in reach, going or coming. He was resisted mainly by fresh troops, most of them being regiments of heavy artillery. These, however, fought with the valor of veterans, and at nightfall had driven the enemy before them in the greatest confusion, capturing four hundred who attempted to make a stand, and rescuing a train of wagons which the rebels had already within their grasp.

The First Regiment was deployed on the right as skirmishers during this engagement, and at its conclusion moved to the front, and was drawn up in line of battle; where the men rested undisturbed upon their arms all night.

In the morning, after shelling the woods, a reconnoissance in force was ordered, by which it was discovered that the enemy had retired during the night, leaving a considerable number of stragglers among the trees, asleep or exhausted, all of whom were made prisoners of war. The position of the 19th was immediately resumed, where the companies remained at rest all day. During the night, orders arrived to move forward upon Guiney's Station and Bowling Green, on the Fredericksburg and Richmond Railroad; but,

so far as the First Regiment was concerned, they were were soon after countermanded, and Col. McLaughlin was ordered to transfer all men belonging to the regiment, whose terms of service had not expired, to the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment, and report, with the rest of the regiment, to the superintendent of the recruiting service at Boston, Mass.

The following is a list of killed, wounded, and missing in the First Regiment at the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court House : —

Company A : Killed, Private Lewis Hutchins.

Company I : Killed, Capt. Moses H. Warren.

Wounded, Adjutant Charles E. Mudge, contusion.

Company A : Wounded, Privates Daniel G. Kelley, not dangerous ; Charles B. Connor, wrist, slight ; George Funk, trifling.

Company B : Wounded, Sergeant Richard F. Irish, leg, severe ; Privates David Jones, head, serious ; James Kelley, slight flesh-wound ; Seth P. Varney, body, not dangerous.

Company C : Wounded, Privates Edward C. Brown, right leg, painful ; John H. Hoffman, inconsiderable ; Gordon McInness, flesh, slight ; Samuel B. Reading, insignificant.

Company D : Wounded, Privates John H. Baldwin, thigh, not serious ; Aretes C. Chamberlin, flesh, slight ; Robert K. Danforth, flesh, slight ; James R. Macrea, right shoulder, painful ; James G. Parker, contusion.

Company E : Wounded, Privates Uriah Howes, trifling ; Charles A. Jones, slight flesh-wound ; George W. Wilkins, slight flesh-wound.

Company F : Wounded, Color-Sergeant, Lewis H. Hall, scalp, not dangerous.

Company G : Wounded, Corporal George Sawyer, trifling; Privates Augustus R. Pope, scalp, not serious; James Rafferty, hand, not serious.

Company H : Wounded, Lieut. John S. Willey, contusion; Corporal Orville Bisbee, hand, slight; Privates Leonard Clark, left shoulder; William H. Smith, trifling; Joseph W. Spooner, trifling.

Company I : Wounded, Sergeant George F. Marden, shoulder, severe; Corporal Isaac Clark, leg, dangerous; Privates John Cripps, through the lungs, serious; William Murray, left side, painful.

Company K : Wounded, Corporal George Goode, through both thighs, serious; Privates John Coullahan, head, not dangerous; Conrad Herman, jr., slight flesh-wound; Joseph M. Leonard, hand, trifling; John Lane, knee, painful.

Missing, Lieut.-Col. Clark B. Baldwin.

Company A : Missing, Privates William H. Butler, William Hughes, Leonard Lewis, Augustus Waterman.

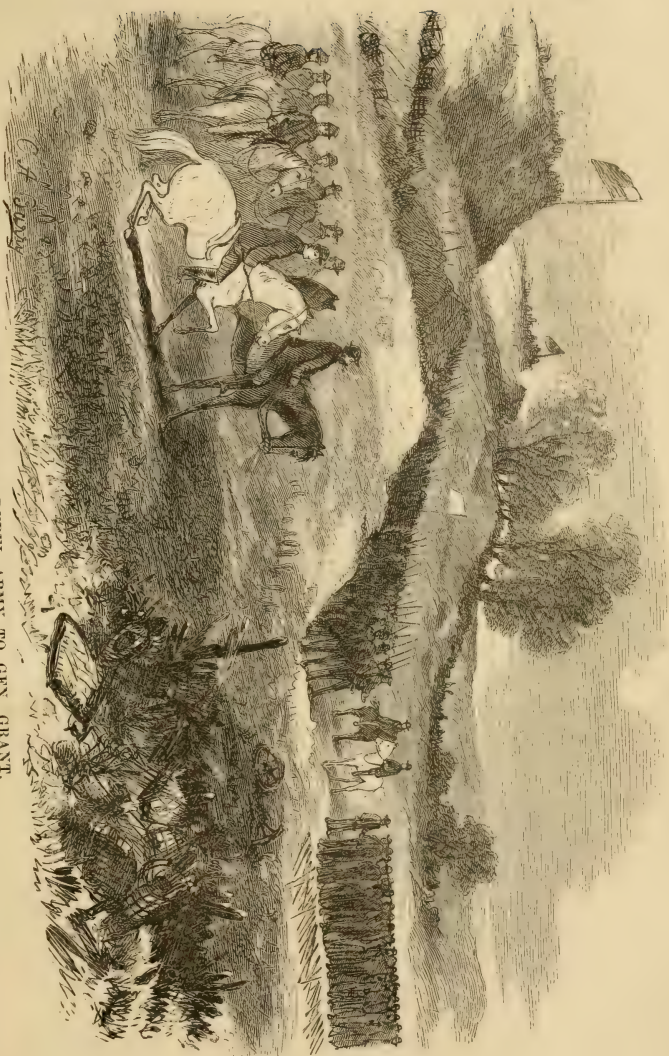
Company F : Missing, Privates Thomas P. Frost; Anthony McArt.

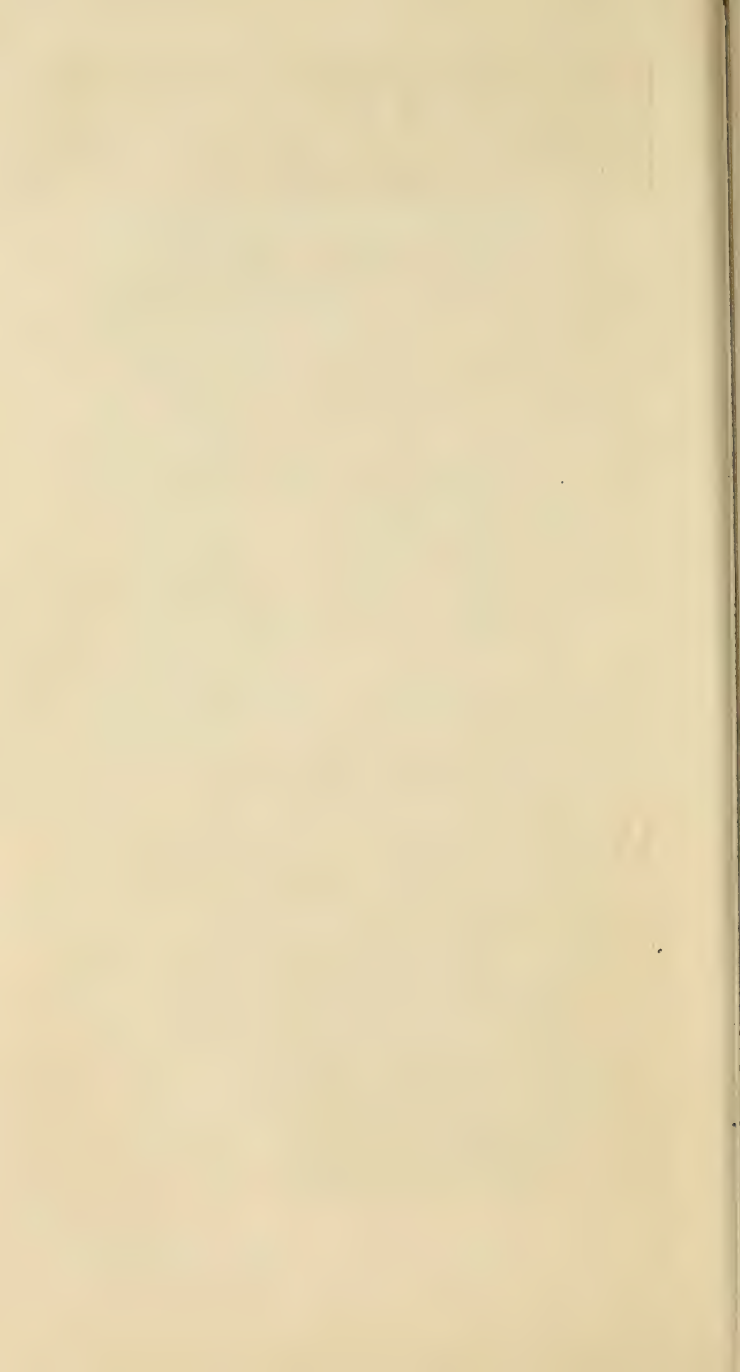
Company H : Missing, Private Robert Andrews.

Company K : Missing, Privates Patrick W. Desmond; Horace McIntire.



SURRENDER OF THE REBEL ARMY TO GEN. GRANT.







CHAPTER XX.

RECEPTION AT HOME. THE FINAL STRUGGLE.

“ They come, they come, our hero-band, —
Old Massachusetts’ First!
Let shouts of welcome loud and long
From every bosom burst!

They come, — the gallant men who stood
Between us and our foes,
Receiving on their loyal breasts
The dastard traitors’ blows!

Give them warm welcome; for they come
From many a hard-fought field, —
Fields crimsoned by the blood they shed
Our hearts and homes to shield.

Give them warm welcome, and for aye
Remember how they bled:
Fold to our hearts the living ones;
Proud tears shed o’er the dead.”

WHILE the Army of the Potomac continued its march towards Guiney’s Station and Bowling Green, the First Regiment followed the telegraph road leading to Fredericksburg.

The distance was hard upon fifteen miles. The city was found to be crowded with Union soldiers, most of them wounded, to whom every attention was being paid by the regular surgeons, hospital stewards, and their assistants, and also by the agents of the Christian and Sanitary Commissions, volunteer nurses, and others. The churches and public buildings of the place, with a large number of private residences found vacant,

were devoted to hospital purposes, and the streets patrolled by a force of cavalry amply sufficient to protect the temporary occupants from violence at the hands of guerillas or disloyal residents.

After a short stay, the regiment crossed the Rappahannock, and went into bivouac upon the plain below Falmouth, where an opportunity was afforded for rest, and the ablutions which for several days had been unavoidably neglected. At four, P.M., the march was resumed for Belle Plain, where, after considerable delay, the regiment embarked at ten, P.M., on board the steamer "Utica," for Washington, and arrived in that city the next morning at half-past three. Immediate arrangements were made for the transportation of the regiment by cars to Baltimore and Philadelphia; and the companies marched through the streets of the national capital to the Soldiers' Rest, a series of commodious wooden barracks connected with the railroad depot.

On the way from the front to Fredericksburg, from Fredericksburg to Belle Plain, and in the city of Washington, large numbers of hundred-days' men were met, bound for the army under Gen. Grant. They were full of martial enthusiasm almost to a man; and such of them as met the rebels in hostile combat acquitted themselves creditably throughout the campaign. Twelve hours were spent at the Soldiers' Rest, in Washington, before a train of cars was procured for transportation to Baltimore; and the same vexatious delays were encountered in the latter city and Philadelphia.

The Cooper-shop and Union Refreshment Saloons of Philadelphia were visited as usual, and full justice

done to the generous fare furnished by their patriotic supporters and attendants. The city of New York was reached on the 23d, where the men were provided with quarters at the barracks in City-Hall Park, and the officers generously furnished with rooms and entertainment by Col. Stetson of the Astor House. An elegant supper was given by this gentleman to the officers and a few invited guests, on the evening of the 23d, which afforded unmixed enjoyment to all present.

On the 24th, after a farewell dress-parade in front of the city hall, the regiment embarked on the steamer "Metropolis" for Fall River, where it arrived early the next morning, and the cars were taken for Boston.

Several friends had come on from the latter city, who assured the men that an enthusiastic reception awaited them there; but no one connected with the command had any idea it would be half so demonstrative and generous as it proved to be. To them all, it was an occasion of unmixed gratification and delight, and will be remembered with pleasure and pride as long as they live. A special train of cars was provided at Fall River, which arrived in Boston between nine and ten in the forenoon of the 25th.

Ten companies of various names, with their bands, comprising the escort, had reported to Gen. Robert Cowdin, who was master of ceremonies for the day, and were in waiting at the Beach-street barracks when the regiment arrived.

The men immediately deposited their knapsacks, haversacks, &c., inside the barracks, and formed column, together with their escort, in the following order:—

Gilmore's Band.

Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Major Edwards commanding, — seventy men.

Morse's Cambridge Band.

Ex-members of Company H, First Regiment, Chelsea Light Infantry, Capt. J. R. Gerrish, — forty men.

Chelsea Brass Band.

Army and Navy Association of Veterans, of Chelsea, under arms, Capt. George B. Hanover, — sixty men.

Boston Cornet Band.

Roxbury Reserve Guard, Capt. Edward Wyman, — seventy bayonets.

Cavalry Band.

Roxbury Horse Guards, Capt. Richard Holmes, — fifty sabres.

First Regiment Drum Corps.

Col. McLaughlin, of the First, and Gen. Cowdin, commanding escort, mounted.

The First Regiment, marching in sixteen platoons, with their four standards in centre.

Germania Band.

Old Fusileers, citizens' dress, under arms, Capt. Cooley, — fifty bayonets.

Independent Boston Fusileers, Lieut. Proctor commanding, relieved from duty at Galloupe's Island, — one hundred bayonets.

Ex-members of the First Regiment (veterans), Lieut. Morris commanding, — fifty bayonets.

Boston Brigade Band.

East-Boston Calkers' Association, citizens' dress, — one hundred and twenty men.

Five carriages, with wounded and disabled soldiers and officers of the regiment.

The Third Company, State Guard, Captain A. J. Wright, South Boston, subsequently entered the line.

To say that the streets and sidewalks were crowded would but very feebly express the condition they were in from the Old-Colony Depot to the State-House, and from the State-House to Faneuil Hall. They were, in truth, densely packed, absolutely thronged with people, — merchants, tradesmen, mechanics, and laborers. Men, women, and children — relatives, friends, and acquaintances of the soldiers, and thousands of others, drawn together merely out of curiosity — were there in such masses, that it was with the utmost difficulty that the column marched through them at all.

Harrison Avenue, up which the regiment and escort passed, was densely filled, and the windows fully occupied; while from scores of houses flags were displayed. The column reached from Harvard Street to Davis Street. Passing through Davis, it came down Washington to Boylston Street, all the way the walks filled with people; then by Tremont, Park, Mount Vernon, Joy, and Beacon Streets to the State-House, where the soldiers were received by the Governor and other distinguished gentlemen.

From the State-House, the column went by way of Beacon, Tremont, Court, State, Commercial, and Market Streets to Faneuil Hall. There were flags everywhere; and in some places the crowds were almost impassable, and the enthusiasm great. State Street, Commercial and Market Streets, were particularly lively in their reception. Rounds of cheers repeatedly rose far above the other noises in the street. No corps that returned to Boston received a warmer welcome.

The line was halted in Market Street for some time.

At twelve o'clock, the head of the regiment entered Faneuil Hall, preceded by the Governor and others, and was hailed with great applause from the crowded galleries. The appearance of the five standards, one of which was an old one, just brought from the State-House, was the signal for renewed applause; the ladies energetically waving their handkerchiefs. The soldiers occupied places at the tables, and laid their guns beneath.

Five minutes after, having disposed of the escort, Gen. Cowdin appeared upon the platform. The applause with which his old regiment greeted him was of the most enthusiastic character, continued for a long time, and was joined in by the galleries.

The Ancient and Honorables had a table on the north of the hall, — no other company being able to enter, for want of room.

At twenty minutes past twelve o'clock, Mayor Lincoln arose, and said, —

“ *Gentlemen of the First Regiment*, — You have been favored in many particulars, and I know of no respect in which you have been more favored, in your three-years' service, than in having had one of the best chaplains that ever went out from Massachusetts; and though I see other clergymen here, yet I feel that none could express so well the gratitude of your hearts that you have returned home, or of ours that you have come home, than your chaplain, Rev. Warren H. Cudworth.”

The chaplain invoked the divine blessing.

The soldiers were then asked to partake of the collation provided by Smith; and they did so with genuine soldiers' relish; the band in the gallery playing several stirring and spirited airs.

Mayor Lincoln afterward called the assembly to order, and welcomed the regiment, saying that he understood that it was just three years ago that day since it was mustered into service. The city took a peculiar interest in this corps, commanded as it was by an old Boston citizen, and with many more in its ranks. After speaking of the city flags, and thanking the regiment for its services, the Mayor announced Gov. Andrew, who was received with applause.

He addressed this scarred and war-worn remnant of near two thousand men, who that day stood in Faneuil Hall again, and received the plaudits in our streets of a hundred thousand patriotic hearts. These welcomes, the sobs of those dear ones who took their heroes joyfully in their arms, spoke with more than human voice.

He could not help remembering these three years of immortal history, writing it with your bayonets, carving it with your swords, sanctifying it with your blood; and he could not help wondering whether he were addressing the classic heroes of other years, or the real heroes of to-day. Many had fallen in the forefront of the battle, face to the foe. He remembered Chandler, who slept in his unknown grave near Richmond, and many others, who would answer, with their major, at the grand roll-call hereafter, to receive the reward that neither men nor nations could bestow.

The simple thanks of honest hearts were due to all, living and dead. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, addressing not only the present officers and men of the First Regiment, but Gen. Cowdin (great applause), and all those among the living who had participated in your trials, — to the veterans in line, and the veterans discharged before, — gave her heartiest

thanks. During all the years remaining on earth might the honest, substantial gratitude of patriotic hearts make their paths happy ! Let thanks to God be raised, and prayers, that, in his own good time, he would crown our arms with victory. (Applause.)

Col. McLaughlin responded to the eulogiums pronounced by his Excellency the Governor, regretting that he could not find words to express his thanks, or the gratitude of the regiment, for what he had been pleased to say. The men left for the field three years ago, and how well they have done their duty history will tell. It was a pleasant change from the stern scenes of war to this bright and peaceful hall ; and they were all glad to get out of the wilderness. (Laughter.) We had left many behind ; but they had died as the brave die, and in a glorious cause. In conclusion, the colonel again expressed gratitude for this noble reception.

Gov. Andrew then introduced Gen. Cowdin, the first colonel of the regiment.

The General said he was glad to see them : God bless them ! He thanked Heaven he saw these faces upturned to his to-day. Many had perished. There was Forrest and Lieut. Smith of the Fusileers, the first martyrs, and others on later fields ; the Chelsea company, at Yorktown, &c. He rejoiced that so many were here again. This regiment had never retreated or fallen back an inch, except in obedience to the command of an officer superior in rank to the colonel. (Applause.) At Blackburn's Ford, we captured a post : our supporting regiments fell back, but we refused to, and stubbornly stood up.

The surrounding fields were being torn to pieces by

shot and shell, and I wanted a man to go across them to the general: one sprang up, crying, "I'm the man!" And here he is, — Lieut. Candler. (Loud applause; and ex-Lieut. William L. Candler, of Brookline, was escorted to the platform.) Gen. Cowdin closed appropriately.

Gov. Andrew repeated an order of the colonel, that the companies were to be furloughed till Saturday morning.

At this point, three cheers were given for the First Regiment.

Cheers were returned for the Governor, the Mayor, and the city.

Loud calls were made for Mr. Cudworth, the chaplain of the regiment.

The chaplain said there was a history told of a certain woman in Scripture, that was better than all others — she had done what she could. You have done what you could. (Applause.)

The exercises were brought to a close at ten minutes past one, when the different companies left the hall, each in charge of its own captain, to be severally escorted to their respective towns or armories.

Besides the splendid reception given by the authorities and citizens of Boston to the regiment as a whole, other receptions were prepared, and duly presented to the separate companies, by the towns, &c., where they were raised: to A, in Brookline; B, in East Boston; C, F, G, and I, in the city proper; E, in South Boston; H, in Chelsea; and D and K, in Roxbury; after which the men were dismissed until Saturday morning, the 28th, with orders to meet, at ten o'clock, on Boston Common. Considerably before the time appointed,

they were all there ; and, as the clock struck ten, the companies came together, and were formed in regimental line, after which Col. McLaughlin exercised them in the manual of arms in the presence of a large number of spectators. The skill they displayed showed the result of three-years' discipline. Afterwards, they wheeled in column by companies ; and, at half-past twelve, companies D and G were mustered out.

The other companies were taken in their order ; and, before two o'clock, all had ceased to be soldiers, and been transformed into citizens. The standards of the regiment were taken to the State-House. The company rolls were certified, and sent to Washington ; and, at the end of a few weeks, the men were paid off at Faneuil Hall.

A great wrong was perpetrated upon the two-years' men connected with the regiment, inasmuch as they had been promised one hundred dollars' bounty, previous to their enlistment, twenty-five of which was paid to them when they were sworn in ; but because they did not serve quite through the two years, being discharged about two months previously, not only did they not receive the seventy-five dollars equitably due them, but the twenty-five dollars they had already received were deducted from their pay, and many of them were sent home penniless, and in debt to the Government.

It is to be hoped that this grievous wrong, alike discreditable to the country, the State of Massachusetts, and the good old city of Boston, will not remain permanently unredressed.

Before closing, the author cannot forbear the expression of his gratitude to friends at home, for their

generous supply of reading-matter, clothing, and other things forwarded to his address from time to time, by express, while the regiment remained in the service. Boxes were received from —

The East-Boston Unitarian Society; the Rev. Dr. James W. Thompson's, Jamaica Plain; the Rev. George H. Hepworth's, Boston; the Rev. Alfred P. Putnam's, Roxbury; James M. Barnard, Esq.; Miss Caroline S. Whitmarsh; Mrs. Charles B. Richmond; Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis; Mrs. Jesse B. Clark; several members of the East Boston Unitarian Society; and others, the contents of which afforded conclusive evidence to the recipients, that, though absent, they were not forgotten.

TABLE OF DISTANCES

Travelled by the First Massachusetts Regiment from June 1, 1861, to May 25, 1864. Made out by Messrs. Whittemore and Perkins of Co. K.

DATE.	FROM	Marched.	Railroad.	Transport.
June 1,	Boston to Camp Ellsworth.....	6		
" 13,	Camp Ellsworth to Camp Cameron.....	2		
" 15,	" Cameron to Boston.....	8		
" 15, 16, 17,	Boston to Washington.....		365	130
" 19,	Washington to Georgetown, Camp Banks.	5		
July 8,	Camp Banks to Gr't Falls (Co.s I and K).	15		
" 14, 15,	Gr't Falls to Camp Banks (Co.s I and K).	15		
" 16,	Camp Banks to Vienna.....	15		
" 17,	Vienna to Centreville.....	13		
" 18,	Centreville to Blackburn's Ford and back.	6		
" 19,	" to near Blackburn's Ford "	3		
" 21,	Returned to Centreville.....	3		
" 22,	Centreville to Camp Banks.....	30		
" 23,	Camp Banks across the Potomac.....	2		
" 24,	To Arlington Heights, Fort Albany.....	$\frac{1}{2}$		

DATE.	FROM	Marched.	Railroad.	Transport.
Aug. 13,	F't Albany to Bladensb'g, Md., C'p Union	10		
Sept. 9,	Camp Union to Upper Marlborough.....	12		
" 10,	Through the town and returned to camp..	4		
" 11,	Upper Marlborough to near Nottingham..	10		
" 12,	Near Nottingham to Lower Marlborough..	9		
" 13,	Lower Marlborough to Friendship.....	9		
" 14,	Friendship to Upper Marlborough.....	15		
" 15,	Upper Marlborough to Hill's Landing....	5		
" "	Hill's Landing to Lower Marlborough....			9
" 16,	Lower Marlborough to Prince Frederick..	12		
" 19, 20,	Prince Frederick to Lower Marlborough..	12		
Oct. 5,	Lower Marlborough to Up'r Marlborough	17		
" 6, 7,	Upper Marlborough to Camp Union.....	12		
" 24,	Camp Union to opposite Alexandria.....	13		
" 25,	Opposite Alexandria to Piscataway.....	9		
" 26,	Piscataway to Camp Hooker.....	25		
1862.				
April 5,	Camp Hooker to Budd's House.....	1		
" 6-10,	Transport to Landing on Peninsula.....			160
" 12,	To near York Point.....	5		
" 16,	near Yorktown, Camp Winfield Scott.	4½		
May 4,	bivouac in the woods.....	15		
" 5,	battle-field of Williamsburg.....	3		
" 6,	camp near Fort Magruder.....	1		
" 9,	north side of town.....	3		
" 15,	Burnt Ordinary.....	9		
" 16,	Through Barhamsville.....	15		
" 18,	To New Kent Court-House.....	6		
" 19,	Baltimore Cross-Roads.....	9		
" 23,	Bottom's Bridge.....	6		
" 24,	Over Chickahominy and back.....	6		
" 25,	To Poplar Hill.....	4		
June 4,	Seven Pines, near Fair Oaks.....	7		
" 29,	near Glendale.....	9		
" 30,	battle-field of Glendale.....	1		
July 1,	Malvern Hill.....	3		
" 2,	near Harrison's Bar.....	10		
" 4,	camping-ground.....	1		
" 5,	" ".....	1		
Aug. 15,	near Charles-City Court House.....	8		
" 16,	" Chickahominy.....	3		
" 17,	" Barhamsville.....	13		
" 18,	" Williamsburg.....	19		
" 19,	" Yorktown.....	10		
" 21,	Aboard the "Vanderbilt".....	2		
" 21-24,	Transport to Alexandria.....			175
" 24,	Through Alexandria.....	3		
" 25,	To Warrenton Junction.....		40	
" 26,	camp near the Junction.....	1½		
" 27,	battle-field of Bristow.....	12		
" 28,	Blackburn's Ford.....	9		
" 29,	second Bull-Run fight.....	12		
" 30, 31,	Manœuvring and retreat to Centreville...	12		
Sept. 1,	To Chantilly.....	6		

DATE.	FROM	Marched.	Railroad.	Transport.
Sept. 2,	To near Fairfax Station.....	10		
" 3,	near Fort Lyons.....	20		
" 4,	Changed position.....	$\frac{1}{2}$		
" 12,	To near Fairfax Seminary.....	3		
Oct. 20,	Munson's Hill.....	6		
Nov. 1,	From Munson's Hill to camp.....	6		
" 1,	From c'mp at Fairfax Seminary to bivouac	8		
" 2,	From bivouac through Fairfax C't House			
	and back to village.....	6		
" 6,	From the village to station on railroad....	4		
" 25,	To Wolfe's Run Shoals.....	8		
Dec. 1,	Dumfries.....	12		
" 2,	Stafford Court House.....	11		
" 3,	Camp Smoke, near Falmouth.....	8		
" 11,	bivouac.....	2		
" 12,	bivouac.....	5		
" 13,	Across river to battle-ground of Fred'burg	1		
" 16,	Back to Smoke Camp.....	8		
1863.				
Jan. 3,	Changed camp to near Fitz Hugh House..	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
" 21,	To near Banks's Ford.....	8		
" 23,	Back to camp near Fitz Hugh House....	8		
April 28,	To down the river.....	5		
" 29,	Changed position.....	$\frac{3}{4}$		
" 30,	To Hartwood Church.....	12		
May 1,	Chancellorsville.....	9		
" 5,	north bank of river.....	3		
" 6,	camp near Fitz Hugh House.....	14		
" 19,	Changed camp.....	1		
June 11,	To near Hartwood Church.....	11		
" 12,	Beverly Ford.....	27		
" 14, 15,	Manassas Junction.....	26		
" 16,	Changed position.....	$\frac{1}{2}$		
" 17,	To Centreville.....	5		
" 18,	Changed position.....	1		
" 19,	To Gum Spring.....	10		
" 20,	Changed position.....	$\frac{1}{2}$		
" 25,	To mouth of Monocacy River.....	22		
" 26,	Catoctan Mountains.....	7		
" 27,	Burkettsville.....	11		
" 28,	Frederick City through Middleton....	17		
" 29,	Taneytown.....	22		
" 30,	Bridgeport (?).....	4		
July 1,	Gettysburg battle-field.....	13		
" 7,	Mechanicstown.....	17		
" 8,	Frederick City.....	17		
" 9,	South Mountain Pass.....	12		
" 10,	Keedysville (manœuvring).....	9		
" 11,	Changed position.....	5		
" 12,	" ".....	1		
" 14,	" ".....	2		
" 15,	To near Sharpsburg.....	11		
" 16,	near Sandy Hook.....	10		
" 17,	near Lovettsville.....	6		

DATE.	FROM	Marched.	Railroad.	Transport.
July 18,	To Hillsborough.....	6		
" 20,	Upperville.....	16		
" 22,	near Piedmont St'n, Manassas G'p R.R.	7		
" 23,	Through Manassas Gap.....	9		
" 24,	Returned to near Markham Station.....	3		
" 25,	To near Salem.....	11		
" 26,	near Warrenton.....	10		
" 31,	Warrenton Junction and Alexandria..	12	50	
Aug. 1,	Phila., marched in Baltimore and Phila.	2	150	
" 2,	Governor's Island.....		85	3
" 17,	Rikers.....			10
Oct. 14,	Alexandria, Va.....		285	12
" 16,	Union Mills.....	1	20	
" 19,	Bristow Station.....	12		
" 20,	Through Greenwich to bivouac.....	14		
" 21,	To near Catlett's Station.....	8		
" 26,	Changed camp.....	$\frac{1}{2}$		
" 30,	To near Warrenton Junction.....	4		
Nov. 7,	Through Bealton to bivouac.....	17		
" 8,	To near Kelly's Ford.....	6		
" 10,	Brandy Station.....	7		
" 11,	Changed camp.....	$\frac{1}{2}$		
" 26,	Brandy Station to other side of Rapidan.	15		
" 27,	Bivouac to fight near Locust Grove.....	3		
" 28,	Through Locust Grove to near Mine Run..	11		
" 29,	Manœuvring.....	4		
" 30,	To Mine Run.....	$3\frac{1}{2}$		
Dec. 1,	Down plank-road to Wilderness.....	6		
" 2,	Across river (Rapidan) to bivouac..	14		
" 3,	To old camp at Brandy.....	12		
1864.				
Feb. 6,	Brandy to beyond Stevensburg.....	5		
" 7,	Back to Brandy.....	5		
May 4,	To Chancellorsville battle-ground of 1863.	20		
" 5,	Battle of the Wilderness.....	10		
" 8,	near Spottsylvania Court House.....	8		
" 10,	Manœuvring on the battle-field.....	5		
" 11,	Along the line to the west.....	1		
" 14,	Manœuvring.....	3		
" 15,	".....	5		
" 17,	".....	2		
" 18,	".....	2		
" 19,	".....	10		
" 20,	".....	5		
" 21,	To Fredericksburg, thence to Belle Plain.	20		
" 21, 22,	By steamer up River Potomac.....			40
" 22,	Through Washington.....	2		
" 22, 23,	To New York over the railroad.....		280	
" 24, 25,	On boat to Fall River.....			185
" 25,	From Fall River to Boston.....		50	
Total distance travelled		1,262 $\frac{3}{4}$	1325	724
Grand total		3,311 $\frac{3}{4}$		

THE FINAL STRUGGLE.

It seems hardly proper to conclude the record of these pages, without a brief reference to the glorious achievements of the Army of the Potomac in the ultimate suppression of the Rebellion, subsequent to the 20th of May, 1864.

The several corps continued their march from Spottsylvania Court House to the Mattaponi River, which was crossed without any severe engagement or serious interruption ; the rebels falling back behind the North Anna. Many thousand veteran troops were forwarded to Gen. Grant's forces, with large numbers of fresh cavalry-horses, and upwards of thirty thousand hundred-days' men. Immediate demonstrations were made against the enemy, which resulted in the capture of a considerable number of prisoners, with serious losses in killed and wounded on both sides. Each day saw the Union army advancing nearer Richmond, and the rebel forces dwindling away as they fruitlessly contended against its steady and irresistible progress.

On Tuesday morning, May 31, Gen. Grant had his headquarters only five miles south-east of Hanover Court House ; and his troops were distributed along the outer line of the Richmond defences, across Tolopatomy Creek, and in vicinity of the Chickahominy.

On the next day, a division of the enemy, under Gen. Hoke, made an energetic attempt to get possession of Coal Harbor, which was repulsed by Gen. Sheridan, but led to a series of desperate encounters, lasting, almost without intermission, for ten days. Charges and countercharges were made by both sides, during which

prodigies of valor were performed, and many single combats took place.

The fighting was not confined to the day, but took place frequently at night, when one side attempted to surprise the other, or gain some advantage of position under cover of the darkness.

The slaughter occasioned by these assaults was excessive. Both armies were well supplied with artillery, and both fought with the valor of desperation for the slightest gain of any kind. Strong intrenchments covered the front of both lines of battle; and an approach to any point brought upon the storming column a concentric fire too destructive for endurance.

During only three days' operations round Coal Harbor, the Union losses amounted to nearly ten thousand men, and those of the rebels to at least an equal number. The hostile armies were in such close contact on the morning of Monday, June 6, that the battle-fields of the previous five days were disputed ground, and many of the wounded lay uncared for where they fell, while all the dead remained unburied. The result was an armistice of two hours agreed upon between Gens. Grant and Lee, during which the wounded were all removed, and the dead interred.

On Sunday night, June 12, the grand movement began which resulted in the junction of the Army of the Potomac with the Army of the James, and the transfer of active operations from the north to the south of Richmond.

The crossing of the James was effected in two days, with a loss of only four hundred men; and immediate preparations were made for an assault upon Petersburg. This city had contained before the war eigh-

teen thousand inhabitants, and been the abode of considerable wealth and refinement. It is situated on the south bank of the Appomattox River, only twenty-two miles from the rebel capital, with which it is connected by railroad, river, and turnpike. It was assaulted several times in succession by Gen. Grant's forces, and important redoubts with lines of rifle-pits and formidable intrenchments were carried with distinguished gallantry : but the Union soldiers were not able to penetrate into the city without greater loss of life than its capture seemed to warrant ; and, about the 1st of July, the army became comparatively quiet.

Towards the last of July, a mine was projected by Lieut.-Col. Pleasants of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, which ran under a six-gun fort belonging to the enemy, and was sprung on the morning of Saturday, the 30th instant. It was hoped to gain some important advantage during the confusion resulting from the mine's explosion ; but, owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding, the assault was not made quickly enough, and the affair resulted in a Federal loss of almost five thousand men, while the rebels lost but few over one thousand.

During the months of August, September, and October, important enterprises were attempted, one of which was the cutting of the Dutch Gap Canal ; another, the capture of a large portion of the Weldon Railroad ; and another still, the assault upon the strong defences of Chapin's Bluff, north of the James River.

A severe engagement took place on the 27th of October at Hatcher's Run, resulting somewhat disastrously to portions of the second and fifth corps, but

not affecting materially the relative position of either army.

Gen. P. H. Sheridan, having been appointed commander of the Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley, signalized his entrance upon his duties by a series of assaults, which resulted in the complete discomfiture of the enemy under Gen. Early, the capture of most of their baggage and artillery, and the scattering of their forces among the mountains. The great victory he gained on the 19th of October, snatching triumph from what seemed to be an overwhelming disaster, was one of the most remarkable achievements of the war. At daylight, the Union left was turned, and, soon after, the whole line forced back in confusion, with a loss of twenty pieces of artillery, hundreds of prisoners, and a large number of wagons. From morning until noon, every thing went against the Federal forces. Gen. Sheridan was at Winchester when the fighting commenced: but, pushing rapidly forward, he arrived on the field at noon; at once arrested the tide of disaster; and, at three o'clock, assaulted the rebel lines with such impetuosity, that they were broken at every point; artillery, cavalry, and infantry routed indiscriminately, forty-three cannon captured, and a large number of prisoners secured. This success was followed up the next day with such vigor, that Gen. Early's army was completely routed and disorganized, leaving the Union forces in quiet possession of the Shenandoah Valley from Harper's Ferry to Strasburg during the rest of the year.

After an unsuccessful attack upon Fort Fisher in December, 1864, another was made on Saturday and Sunday, the 14th and 15th of January following, which

resulted favorably. The fort, all the adjoining works, nearly one hundred heavy guns, and over two thousand prisoners, were captured, and Wilmington effectively sealed against blockade-runners.

On the 22d of February following, the city itself fell into the hands of Gens. Schofield and Terry, by whom, in conjunction with the fleet of Admiral Porter, it had been previously assaulted; and seven hundred prisoners, thirty siege-guns, and a large supply of ammunition and stores, came into the possession of the victors.

On the 27th of February, Gen. Sheridan started from Winchester with his indefatigable cavaliers on a raid down the Shenandoah Valley towards Lynchburg, and thence to Richmond. He succeeded in inflicting an immense amount of damage upon the enemy, capturing guns, prisoners, and much booty; and finally effected a junction with Gen. Grant's army in the vicinity of Petersburg.

On Saturday morning, March 25, a fierce assault by four rebel divisions was made upon the right wing of the Union army, resulting in the capture of Fort Steadman and most of the garrison, including Brig.-Gen. N. B. McLaughlin, the former colonel of the First Regiment. A sanguinary engagement ensued, during which the fort was recaptured, and the Federal lines re-established as they had been before. The loss to the enemy was large, including nearly two thousand prisoners. The Union loss was one hundred and sixty-six killed, twelve hundred and one wounded, and seven hundred and thirteen missing.

The most critical period in Gen. Lee's fortunes had now arrived. Having failed to turn the Union right,

he saw that he must abandon Richmond, or be shut up in it, and surrounded on all sides by the Federal forces. He at once attempted to depart by the only road left open to him ; but it was too late. The Union cavalry had preceded him ; and, on the 1st of April, he was admonished by the desperate battle at Big Five Forks that his doom was settled.

On the next day, the intrenchments of Petersburg were carried at the point of the bayonet, and on Monday morning, April 3, at fifteen minutes past eight, the stars and stripes were waving in the streets of Richmond.

It took but a short time to dispose of the army of Gen. Lee, and, with it, of the Rebellion for which it had so vainly fought. From Richmond to Burkesville, whither the rebels retreated, the roads were strown with muskets, knapsacks, wagons, and artillery ; showing how completely they were demoralized. At Amelia Court House, they remained a couple of days, and then, in attempting to retreat towards Lynchburg, were brought to a stand at Deatonsville ; where they fought their last battle on Thursday, the 6th of April, losing thirteen thousand men taken prisoners, one lieutenant-general, and seven major-generals, with several batteries, and hundreds of wagons. The day after the battle, Gen. Grant humanely wrote to Gen Lee, proposing terms of surrender to avoid further useless effusion of blood. After some correspondence, the terms were accepted ; and on Palm Sunday, the 9th of April, 1865, Gen. Lee surrendered, with all his men and munitions of war ; thus virtually putting an end to the Rebellion, and placing the seceded States at the mercy of the Union authorities in Washington. The Army

of the Potomac was soon after disbanded, and its various regiments transported to the States whence they had come.

The following catalogue of officers and men connected with the First Regiment is copied from the muster-rolls in Adj.-Gen. Schouler's office at the State House, Boston, Mass. There may be some mistakes in dates, and in the spelling of names and places, but it is believed to be in the main correct.



THE FIRST MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS. * Indicates expiration of service.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Date of Com- missions.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Discharged.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Robert Cowdin . . .	Colonel . . .	May 22, 1861,	Boston . .	—	Brig.-Gen. Vols. Oct. 1, 1862. Mustered out as Col. Sept. 30, 1862.
Napoleon B. McLaughlin . .	" . . .	Oct. 1, 1862,	Capt. 4th U. S. Cavalry	—	Mustered out, May 28, 1864. Col. 57th Reg't July 21, 1864.* Brevet Brig.-Gen. April, 1865.
George D. Wells . . .	Lieutenant-Colonel .	May 22, 1861,	Boston . .	—	Col. 34th Mass. Vols., July 11, 1862. Brevet Brig.-Gen. Sept., 1864.
Clark B. Baldwin . . .	" . . .	Sept. 8, 1862,	" . . .	—	Mustered out, Nov. 10, 1864.*
Charles Peleg Chandler . .	Major . . .	May 22, 1861,	" . . .	—	Killed in Battle, June 30, 1862.
Gardner Walker . . .	" . . .	Sept. 8, 1862,	" . . .	—	Mustered out, May 28, 1864.*
Richard H. Salter . . .	Surgeon . . .	May 30, 1861,	" . . .	Feb. 10, 1863,	—
Edward A. Whiston . . .	" . . .	March 5, 1863,	Framingham	—	Mustered out, May 28, 1864.*
Samuel A. Green . . .	Assistant Surgeon	May 25, 1861,	Boston . .	—	Surgeon 24th Regiment, Sept. 2, 1861.
Francis LeBaron Munroe . .	" . . .	Sept. 3, 1862,	Medway	—	" 15th " Dec. 29, 1862.
Thomas F. Oakes . . .	" . . .	July 29, 1862,	Dartmouth	—	" 56th " July 31, 1863.
Neil K. Gunn . . .	" . . .	March 18, 1863,	Boston . .	—	Died in Hospital, June 3, 1863.
Isaiah L. Pickard . . .	" . . .	July 3, 1863,	Littleton	—	Mustered out, May 28, 1864.* Surgeon Colored Troops, died in Texas, July, 1865.
John B. Garvie . . .	" . . .	Aug. 7, 1861,	Boston . .	—	Left, Oct. 14, 1863.
Warren H. Cudworth . .	Chaplain . . .	May 27, 1861,	" . . .	—	Mustered out, May 28, 1864.*
Edward A. Wild . . .	Captain . . .	May 25, 1861,	Brookline	—	Major 32d Regiment, July 24, 1862. Subse- quently Brig.-Gen.
Edward Pearl . . .	" . . .	22, 1861,	Boston . .	Aug. 3, 1861,	—
Gardner Walker . . .	" . . .	22, 1861,	" . . .	—	Major, Sept. 8, 1862.
Ebenezer W. Stone, Jr. . .	" . . .	22, 1861,	Roxbury	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
Clark B. Baldwin . . .	" . . .	22, 1861,	Boston . .	—	Lieut.-Col., Sept. 8, 1862.
Alfred W. Adams . . .	" . . .	22, 1861,	" . . .	July 17, 1862,	—
Henry A. Snow . . .	" . . .	22, 1861,	Somerville	Aug. 3, 1861,	—
Sumner Carruth . . .	" . . .	22, 1861,	Chelsea . .	—	—
Charles E. Rand . . .	" . . .	22, 1861,	Boston . .	—	Major 35th Regiment, Aug. 20, 1862. Brevet Brig.-Gen., April, 1865.
Abial G. Chamberlain . .	" . . .	22, 1861,	Roxbury	—	Killed in Battle, May 2, 1863.
George H. Smith . . .	" . . .	26, 1861,	Boston . .	Nov. 10, 1863,	Made Col. of Colored Troops, 1865.
Francis H. Ward . . .	" . . .	26, 1861,	" . . .	July 11, 1862,	—
				Oct. 2,	—

ROSTER OF OFFICERS.

<i>Names.</i>	Rank.	Date of Com- missions.	Residence.	Discharged.	Remarks.
George E. Henry .	Captain .	July 12, 1862,	Boston .	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
Charles M. Jordan .	" .	18, " "	" .	—	" " " "
Charles S. Kendall .	" .	24, " "	" .	—	" " Jan. 3, 1865.*
William C. Johnston	" .	Aug. 21, " "	" .	—	Dismissed by Court-Martial, Feb. 18, 1863.
Francis W. Carruth .	" .	Sept. 8, " "	Roxbury	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
Miles Farwell .	" .	9, " "	Boston .	—	Declined Promotion.
Henry Parkinson .	" .	Oct. 3, " "	" .	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
John McDonough .	" .	March 1, 1863,	Roxbury	—	" " " "
Forrester A. Felby .	" .	2, " "	Cohasset	—	Dis'd, Sentence of Ct.-Mart'l, Sept. 25, 1863.
Moses H. Warren .	" .	July 1, " "	Dorchester	—	Killed, May 12, 1864.
Frank Thomas .	" .	Sept. 27, " "	Roxbury	—	Declined Promotion.
John S. Clark .	" .	25, " "	" .	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
John R. Lee, Quartermaster	First Lieutenant	May 22, 1861,	Salem .	3, 1861,	—
William H. Johnston, Adjutant	" "	Aug. 26, " "	Boston .	Aug. —	Capt., Aug. 21, 1862.
William L. Candler .	" "	May 25, " "	Brookline	—	Capt. on Gen. Hooker's Staff, Nov. 10, 1862.
George H. Smith .	" "	25, " "	Boston .	—	Since reserved.
Joseph Hibbert, Jr. .	" "	25, " "	" .	—	Capt., Aug. 26, 1861.
Charles M. Jordan .	" "	25, " "	" .	—	Asst. Adjt.-Gen. Vols., May 12, 1862.
George H. Johnston	" "	25, " "	" .	—	Capt., July 18, 1862.
John L. Rogers .	" "	25, " "	" .	—	Asst. Adjt.-Gen. Vols., May 7, 1862.
William H. Lawrence .	" "	25, " "	Charlestown	July 13, 1861,	—
	" "	25, " "	Boston .	—	A. D. C. Gen. Hooker's Staff, rank Major,
	" "	25, " "	" .	—	Nov. 10, 1862. Brevet Brig.-Gen., 1865.
Albert S. Austin .	" "	25, " "	Chelsea	—	U. S. Commissary Substistence, July 17, 1862.
Charles E. Mudge .	" "	25, " "	Boston .	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
William H. Sutherland	" "	25, " "	Roxbury	—	Killed in Action, June 30, 1862.
George E. Henry .	" "	July 13, " "	Boston .	—	Capt., July 12, 1862.
Charles S. Kendall	" "	Aug. 26, " "	" .	—	" " " "
Charles L. Chandler	" "	March 21, 1862,	Brookline	—	Capt. 34th Regiment, Aug. 6, 1862. Lieut.-Col.
	" "	8, " "	" .	—	57th Mass.
Francis W. Carruth	" "	May 13, " "	Roxbury	—	Capt., Sept. 8, 1862.
Miles Farwell .	" "	12, " "	Boston .	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
William P. Cowie	" "	July 1, " "	Roxbury	—	Commissary Substistence, Vols., Sept. 10, 1862.
John McDonough .	" "	17, " "	Chelsea .	—	Capt., March 1, 1863.
John M. Mandeville	" "	" "	" .	—	Killed in Battle, Aug. 30, 1862.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Date of Com- missions.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Discharged.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Forrester A. Pelby	First Lieutenant	July 18, 1862,	Cohasset	—	Capt., March 2, 1863.
Horatio Roberts	"	24, "	Chelsea	Feb. 5, 1864,	Veteran Reserve Corps as Second Lieut.
Henry Hartley	"	Aug. 21, "	Wil'msb'g, N.Y.	—	Killed at Gettysburg, July 2, 1863.
Moses H. Warren	"	30, "	Dorchester	—	Capt., July 1, 1863.
Frank Thomas	"	30, "	Roxbury	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
Amos Webster	"	8, "	Boston	—	" " " " " "
Joseph H. Dalton	"	9, "	"	May, 16, 1863,	A. A. G., on Gen. Cowdin's Staff.
Shadrack K. Morris	"	15, "	"	April, 24,	—
John S. Clark	"	1, 1863,	Roxbury	—	Capt., Sept. 22, 1863.
John S. Willey	"	2, "	Boston	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
George Myrick	"	1, "	"	—	" " " " " "
William E. Hayward	"	2, "	"	—	" " " " " "
George L. Lawrence	"	1, "	Fitchburg	—	" " " " " "
Frederic E. Dolbeare	"	1, "	Boston	—	" " " " " "
William H. Fletcher	"	July 10, "	Waltham	—	" " " " " "
William P. Drury	"	Sept. 22, "	Chelsea	—	" " " " " "
Charles L. Chandler	Second Lieutenant	May 25, 1861,	Brookline	—	First Lieut., March 21, 1862.
Charles S. Kendall	"	25, "	Boston	—	" " " " " "
Daniel G. E. Dickinson	"	25, "	Cambridge	March, 6, 1862,	—
Oliver Walton, 2d	"	25, "	Boston	—	Dismissed, May 28, 1862.
Miles Farwell	"	25, "	"	—	First Lieut., May 13, 1862.
George E. Henry	"	25, "	"	—	" " " " " "
Francis H. Ward	"	25, "	"	—	Capt., Aug. 6, 1861.
Robert A. Saunders	"	25, "	Chelsea	Sept. 16, 1861,	—
Elijah B. Gill, Jr.	"	25, "	Boston	—	Killed in Battle, July 21, 1861.
Francis W. Carruth	"	25, "	Roxbury	—	First Lieut., May 8, 1862.
William H. B. Smith	"	25, "	Cambridge	—	Killed in Battle Bull Run, July 13, 1861.
Henry Hartley	"	Aug. 26, "	Wil'msb'g, N.Y.	—	First Lieut., Aug. 21, 1862.
William P. Cowie	"	26, "	Boston	—	" " " " " "
John McDonough	"	26, "	Roxbury	—	" " " " " "
Forrester A. Pelby	"	Aug. 26, "	Cohasset	—	" " " " " "
Henry Parkinson	"	26, "	Boston	—	Capt., Oct. 3, 1862.
Horatio Roberts	"	Oct. 12, "	Chelsea	—	First Lieut., July 24, 1862.
Moses H. Warren	"	Feb. 10, 1862,	Dorchester	—	" " " " " "
Amos Webster	"	8, "	Boston	—	" " " " " "

ROSTER OF OFFICERS.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Date of Com- missions.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Discharged.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Frank Thomas	Second Lieutenant	May 13, 1862,	Roxbury	—	First Lieut., Aug. 30, 1862.
Joseph H. Dalton	"	29, "	Boston.	—	" " Sept. 9, "
John S. Clark	"	1, "	Roxbury	—	" " March 1, 1863.
George Myrick	"	12, "	Boston.	—	" " 1, "
John S. Willey	"	18, "	"	—	" " 2, "
Frederic E. Dolbeare	"	24, "	"	—	" " June 1, "
William E. Hayward	"	21, "	"	—	" " July 1, "
James Doherty	"	9, "	"	Jan. 31, 1864,	Major 56th Mass. killed before Petersburg.
William H. Fletcher	"	Sept. 30, "	Waltham	—	First Lieut., July 10, 1863.
George L. Lawrence	"	Aug. 30, "	Fitchburg	—	" " 2, "
William P. Drury	"	8, "	Chelsea	—	" " Sept. 22, "
Nathaniel Averill	"	Oct. 3, "	Roxbury	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
Harrison Hinekley	"	1, 1863,	Cambridge	March 7, 1864,	—
Rufus M. Meguire	"	2, "	Boston.	—	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.*
Edward G. Tutien	"	1, "	Chelsea.	—	" " " " *

ENLISTED MEN.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Non. Com. Staff.		
Frank W. Marshall, S. Major . . .	—	Must'd out, May 28, '64. App. Apr. 1, '63.
Wm. F. Thayer, Com. Sergeant . . .	—	" " " " " " " "
Hiram A. Wright, Q. M. Serg't . . .	—	" " " " " " Jan. 1, '64.
Alfred C. Dana, Hospital Ste'd . . .	—	" " " " " " May 25, '61.
Lorenzo B. Hull, Prin. Mus. . . .	—	" " " " " " " "
Wm. N. Hart, " " " " . . .	—	" " " " " " " "
<i>Discharged and Died.</i>		<i>Causes.</i>
John B. Gibbs, Com. Sergeant . . .	—	Disability, July 1, 1861.
James H. Hall, Sergeant-Major . . .	—	Reduced to ranks, Aug. 6, 1862, in Co. B.
Charles C. Cooke, Prin. Mus. . . .	—	Disability, July 1, 1861.
James M. Lewis, " " . . .	—	All records lost.
Joseph H. Dalton, Q. M. Serg't . . .	—	Second Lieut., May 23, 1862.
Alfred A. Swallow, " " . . .	—	Died of dis'e at Har'ns Lan'g, July 30, '62.
Wm. C. Manning, Serg't-Major . . .	—	Major Colored Troops, Feb. 20, 1863.
Edwin C. McFarland, " " . . .	—	Capt. Colored Troops, March 5, 1863.
Harrison Hinckley, C. Sergeant . . .	—	Second Lieut., March 1, 1863.
Edward C. Carroll, Prin. Mus. . . .	—	Disability, 1862. No date.
James G. Miller, Q. M. Sergeant . . .	—	Capt. Colored Troops, March 5, 1863.
Company A.		
George H. Stone, 1st Sergeant . . .	28	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
William F. Daymon, Sergeant . . .	24	" " " " " "
James Field, " " . . .	20	" " " " " "
James Miles, " " . . .	23	" " " " " "
John H. Miner, " " . . .	35	" " " " " "
Abner Blackburn, Corporal . . .	26	" " " " " "
John C. Singer, " " . . .	22	" " " " " "
William F. Butler, " " . . .	24	Taken prisoner, May 12, 1864.
Charles B. Connor, " " . . .	22	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
George W. Funk . . .	30	" " " " " "
Henry H. Mingle, Musician . . .	17	" " " " " "
George H. Allen, " " . . .	18	" " " " " "
Anderson, John . . .	18	" " " " " "
Carter, Frank . . .	25	" " " " " "
Chamberlin, E. D. . . .	21	Detached as clerk at gen. headq'r't's.
Calagher, Michael . . .	38	Sick when the reg't was mustered out.
Chapman, Henry . . .	22	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Dwyar, Charles A. . . .	23	" " " " " "
Davis, James A. . . .	24	" " " " " "
Evans, George A. . . .	18	" " " " " "
Gregory, William . . .	30	" " " " " "
Griggs, John B. . . .	41	" " " " " "
Green, Charles . . .	21	Sick, &c.
Harvey, Martin . . .	42	Away wounded when the regiment was mustered out.
Hatch, Charles H. . . .	24	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Hughes, William . . .	29	Missing in action, May 6, 1864.
Kelley, Daniel G. . . .	24	Away wounded, May 12, 1864.
Lynch, John . . .	19	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Lamb, Frank . . .	25	" " " " " "
McIntosh, Charles H. . . .	20	" " " " " "
Mullery, Michael P. . . .	29	" " " " " "
McGrath, Terrence . . .	33	" " " " " "
Muller, William . . .	45	" " " " " "
Muldenny, John . . .	38	" " " " " "
Sears, Eliphalet . . .	21	" " " " " "
Tebbetts, Sewell F. . . .	21	" " " " " "
Williamson, Hiram . . .	26	" " " " " "
Waterman, Augustus . . .	18	Absent; missing in action, May 6, 1864.

Names.	Age.	Remarks.
<i>Discharged.</i>		<i>Causes of Discharge.</i>
William Gibson, 1st Sergeant	18	Capt. 35th Regiment, Aug. 14, 1862.
Daniel E. Connor, "	28	Disability, Jan. 7, 1863.
Frederick E. Dolbeare, "	23	2d Lieut., July 24, 1863.
Frederick W. Stowe, Sergeant	24	2d Lieut., 1st Heavy Artillery, Feb., 1862.
James M. Johnston, "	23	Disability, Sept. 27, 1862.
Henry McIntire, Corporal	28	Serg't, Nov. 1, '62; disability, Dec. 31, '62.
James G. Miller, "	37	2d Lieut., N. C. C. Vols., Sept. 1, 1863.
James A. Pratt, "	22	Capt., 54th Regiment, March 5, 1863.
Cornelius Crowley, "	24	Disability, July 1, 1861.
Edward C. McFarland	18	2d Lieut., March 1, 1863.
James W. Lewis, Musician	20	Disability, July 1, 1861.
John H. Whitney, "	1	" Oct. 22, 1862.
Daniel T. Carney, Wagoner	20	" July 1, 1861.
Abrams, William	26	" Sept. 1, 1862.
Abrams, John	18	" Jan. 7, 1863.
Archer, Thomas	22	" April 28, 1863.
Bailey, George A.	22	" Jan. 20, 1864.
Butler, Nicholas	27	" Jan. 7, 1863.
Bowes, William	40	" Sept. 12, 1863.
Cochran, William F.	25	2d Lieut., 28th Regiment, July 1, 1863.
Cowdin, Robert G.	25	2d Lieut., 31st N. Y. Regiment.
Conant, George W. T.	26	Disability, Oct. 17, 1862.
Crane, George B.	30	" July 1, 1862.
Chase, William P.	20	2d Lieut., 3d N. C. C. Vols., Oct. 30, '63.
Cates, Charles D.	19	Disability, Oct. 23, 1862.
Daniels, Edward S.	29	Corp., March 1, '62; disability, Oct. 4, '62.
Day, Samuel E.	25	2d Lieut., 3d N. C. C. Vols., Oct. 19, '63.
Delaney, Patrick F.	30	Disability, Jan. 1, 1863.
Emerson, William	30	" Oct. 31, '62; Capt. N. C. C. Vols.
Ferris, Jacob A.	21	" Sept. 28, 1862.
Feogg, Daniel L.	44	" Nov. 22, 1862.
Gilman, Luther	25	" Sept. 16, 1862.
Grimm, Francis C.	25	" July 1, 1861.
Griggs, Charles D.	1	" Sept. 2, 1862.
Gaffney, Michael	23	" Dec. 18, 1862.
Harper, Charles H.	26	" Oct. 2, 1862.
Hinckley, Harrison	32	2d Lieut., Aug., 1863.
Hogan, Martin	22	Disability, Aug. 1, 1861.
Jewell, William H.	20	2d Lieut., 38th Regiment, Aug. 1, 1862.
Kelley, Thomas	1	Disability, Dec. 1, 1862.
Law, Emerson W.	21	" Oct. 11, "
Manery, William J.	21	" April 6, 1864.
McCrillis, Francis A.	22	" July 9, 1863.
McIntosh, Frank H.	21	" March 5, 1864.
Miller, James M., Corporal	26	2d Lieut., 3d N. C. C. Vols., Oct. 19, '63.
Monroe, James A., "	19	Sec'd Lt. 3d N. C. C. Vols., Oct. 19, 1863.
Muzzey, Daniel P.	24	" " 22d Regiment, Aug. 1, 1862.
Miles, John L.	44	Disability, Sept. 25, 1863.
Pierce Benjamin F.	32	" Dec. 26, 1862.
Powers, David	25	" July 1, 1861.
Roberts, John E.	19	" " "
Rosemond, George E.	29	" " "
Rivers, Charles	21	" May 1, 1862.
Singer, George W.	21	Sec'd Lt., 3d N. C. C. Vols., Oct. 19, '63.
Stebbins, Samuel W.	28	Disability, July 1, 1861.
Stoddard, George W.	29	" " "
Smith, John	24	" " "
Thayer, Clarence H.	21	Second Lieut., March 2, 1863.
Trask, Frank	1	" " Aug. 1, "
Washburn, William, Jr.	21	" " 35th Reg't, Jan. 24, 1864.
Washburn, Andrew J., Sergeant	20	Sec'd Lt., 3d N. C. C. Vols., Oct. 19, 1863.
Withington, John C.	25	Disability, March 10, 1863.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Withington, James C.	18	Sec'd Lt., 3d N. C. C. Vols., Oct. 19, '63.
Whitefield, Horace E.	24	" " " " " "
Woodworth, Isaac M.	23	Disability, Feb. 7, 1864.
<i>Transferred.</i>		<i>To what Organization.</i>
Adams, John H.	23	Eleventh Massachusetts, May 18, 1864.
Brown, John	36	" " " "
Delancy, James A.	29	" " " "
Funk, Joseph W.	20	" " " "
Hayward, John R.	25	Veteran Reserve Corps, March 31, 1864.
Johnston, Joseph	37	Eleventh Massachusetts, May 18, 1864.
Johnson, Lysander K.	34	" " " "
King, James	18	Veteran Reserve Corps, Nov. 1, 1863.
Langley, Alonzo B.	22	Fourth U. S. Artillery, Oct. 19, 1862.
Lewis Leonard	31	Eleventh Massachusetts, May 18, 1864.
McClusky, Francis	18	" " " "
Reardon, Patrick	22	Veteran Reserve Corps, April 14, 1864.
Serenge, William	26	Eleventh Massachusetts, May 18, 1864.
Turner, Fergus B.	20	Veteran Reserve Corps, July 1, 1863.
Whitney, Charles H.	20	" " " "
<i>Died.</i>		<i>Causes of Death.</i>
Baker, Thomas A.	28	Died in Hospital, Nov. 26, 1862.
Evans, Henry	24	Killed at Gettysburg, July 2, 1863.
Donahue, John	30	Missing at Gettysburg, July 2, 1863.
Finley, Henry,	18	Killed at Glendale, June 30, 1862.
Francis, Joseph	—	" Williamsburg, May 5, 1862.
Getchell, John F.	22	Died of disease, Feb. 3, 1863.
Getchell, Lewis G.	20	Killed at Fair Oaks, June 25, 1862.
Grover, Curtis W.	—	" Williamsburg.
Harper, Joseph	24	Died of disease, May 17, 1862.
Hutchins, Lewis	30	Killed at Wilderness, May 6, 1864.
Martin, John	30	Killed at second Bull Run, Aug. 24, 1862.
O'Dea, John	24	" Glendale, June 30, 1862.
Phelps, Julius A.	24	" Glendale, June 30, 1862.
Parkes, George W.	18	" Gettysburg, July 2, 1863.
Pettis, John	45	" " July 21, 1863.
Ready, John C.	23	Died of wounds, June 25, 1862.
Robinson, John T.	26	" " July 17, 1863.
Tower, Charles W.	20	Killed at Williamsburg, May 5, 1862.
Trowbridge, William H.	19	Died on picket; date unknown.
Turner, Joseph W.	25	Died of disease, June 21, 1862.
<i>Deserted.</i>		<i>Date of Desertion.</i>
Carlton, Thomas A., Corporal	24	Sept. 1, 1862.
Baxter, Benjamin W.	18	July 1, 1862.
Fogerty, John I.	30	Sept. 1, 1862.
Ford Moses	40	Aug., 1861.
Kilkenny, James	21	Aug. 1, 1863.
McClusky, Dennis	20	Sept., 1861.
Naumburg, Alexander	19	Nov., 1862.
Saunders, Joseph	37	May 6, 1864, in face of the enemy.
O'Shaughnessy, Patrick	27	Feb., 1863.
Sullivan, John	26	April, 1863.
Turnbull, David	18	June, 1861.
<i>Company B.</i>		
Richard F. Irish, 1st Sergeant	24	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
George Murphy, Sergeant	25	" " " "
George A. Howe, "	23	" " " "
John A. Irving, "	26	" " " "
Henry B. Sellon, "	20	" " " "

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Joseph T. Wilson, Corporal	23	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Nathaniel M. Allen, "	21	" " " "
George W. H. Burbeck, "	20	" " " "
William B. Simmons, "	20	" " " "
George Barry, "	20	" " " "
Stephen B. Danforth, "	21	" " " "
William F. Wallace, Musician	25	" " " "
Cyrus K. Thomas, Wagoner	26	" " " "
Brown, William H.	22	" " " "
Brown, Henry H.	20	Away wounded, when reg't muster'd out.
Campbell, John	24	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Chase, Lewis W.	26	Absent sick, when reg't mustered out.
Coffin, George N.	27	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Corson, Charles H.	22	" " " "
Drudy, John	22	" " " "
Duran, Beecher L.	19	" " " "
Elkins, Robert G.	23	" " " "
Giles, James	37	" " " "
Hill, Horace L.	34	" " " "
Hittenheim, Charles L.	24	" " " "
Hanscom, George	21	" " " "
Hamblin, Allen T.	23	" " " "
Kelley, James	24	" " " "
Lannary, James J.	30	" " " "
Lewis, Asa P.	22	" " " "
Lovejoy, Walter	22	Away wounded.
McKenna, Andrew C.	25	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
McNulty, James	35	" " " "
Morley, James	29	" " " "
Misena, Edward A.	19	" " " "
Nutter, Joseph E.	21	" " " "
O'Neil, Garvett	45	" " " "
Prince, Zelotes	33	" " " "
Smith, Lewis G.	42	" " " "
Underwood, John S.	24	Away sick, when reg't was mustered out
Varney, Seth P.	34	Away wounded, in hospital.

<i>Discharged.</i>	<i>Causes of Discharge.</i>
Armstrong, James, Sergeant	Disability, Feb. 2, 1863.
Annis, Mark C.	" June 16, 1863.
Battis, George G. W.	" " "
Battis, William S.	" July, 1861.
Broaders, Frederick W.	" April 19, 1863.
Brown, Aaron A.	" May 15, "
Brown, Edwin T.	Com. in U. S. Col. Vols, March 2, 1863.
Butler, Henry B.	Disability, Nov. 26, 1862.
Christian, Ferrier V., Corporal	" Dec. 31, "
Conant, Estes	" July, 1861.
Cook, George C.	" no date.
Cutler, John D.	" Aug., 1861.
Collins, Thomas E.	" Dec., 1862.
Condon, Michael	" March 24, 1864.
Coughlin, Daniel	" Jan. 1, 1864.
Challis, George H., Corporal	" June, 1862.
Dalton, Joseph H.	Second Lieut., May 29, 1862.
Dakin, Leonard A.	Disability, Aug., 1861.
Deugan, William F.	" " 1862.
Downing, Richard	" Oct., 1862.
Dunbar, Abram M.	" July, 1861.
Dailey, Jeremiah	" May 1, 1864.
Ewer, John T.	" Oct., 1861.
Fisher, Henry	" Aug., "
Fletcher, William H.	Second Lieut., Aug. 30, 1862.
Goodwin, Daniel	Disability, Dec. 27, 1862.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Goodwin, Thomas . . .	21	Disability, Aug., 1862.
Graham, James W. . .	30	" Sept., 1861.
Gray, Harry . . .	19	Medical Cadet, Oct. 18, 1861.
Greeley, Henry . . .	22	Disability, Aug., 1861.
Garney, John . . .	21	" Feb. 19, 1863.
Hatch, Augustus, Sergeant	24	Discharged to accept commission.
Hatch, Theodore, . . .	22	Disability, May 9, 1863.
Hayward, William E. "	23	Second Lieut., Aug. 21, 1862.
Higgins, James . . .	21	Disability, Aug., 1861.
Holmes, Jacob F., Corporal	20	" 18, 1863.
Hull, William C. . . .	20	" May 10, 1862.
Jenkins, Luke E. . . .	20	Com. in 2d Mass. Heavy Art. Jan. 1, '64.
Keller, Frederick J. . .	26	Disability, Aug., 1861.
Keith, Charles B. . . .	20	" Feb. 20, 1863.
Kimball, Joseph E. . .	21	Com. in colored regiment, Jan. 10, 1864.
Knowlton, William H. .	31	Disability, Oct. 10, 1862.
Lawson, James . . .	22	" July, 1861.
McKay, John B. . . .	18	" April 3, 1863.
McKee, Daniel F. . . .	20	" Dec. 27, 1862.
McLeod, John T. . . .	24	" July 20, 1861.
Morgan, Charles F. . .	20	" Nov. 8, 1862.
Mahanney, Dennis . . .	30	" April 3, 1863.
Munroe, Charles . . .	22	" May 10, 1862.
McNickels, Daniel F. .	35	" April 19, 1863.
North, James M. . . .	19	Commission in U. S. Vols., July, 1863.
Parkinson, Henry, 1st Sergeant	21	Second Lieut., Aug. 26, 1861.
Paine, Joseph E. . . .	23	Disability, July 20, 1861.
Pierce, Henry	33	" Aug., 1861.
Robbins, Milton, Corporal .	22	" " "
Reed, David	21	" Oct. 18, 1862.
Rice, Joseph H. . . .	24	" May 10, 1862.
Rowell, Harrieff . . .	33	" July 28, 1861.
Robbins Joseph W. . . .	18	" Nov. 7, 1863.
Sellon, Samuel E. . . .	23	" July 28, 1861.
Smith, William A. . . .	31	Asst. Engineer in Navy, Sept., 1861.
Stevenson, Daniel D. . .	32	Disability, Aug., 1861.
Sullivan, George W. . .	26	" May 10, 1862.
Thompson, David P., Corporal	22	" Dec., 1862.
Turnbull, James P. . . .	18	" Sept., 1861.
Verge, Joseph A., 1st Sergeant	23	" Nov. 26, 1862.
West, William A., Corporal	21	" March 29, 1864.
Wood, John F. . . .	20	" Aug., 1861.
Young, John	18	" Jan. 9, 1863.

*Transferred.**To what Organization.*

Beyer, John A. . . .	25	Veteran Reserve Corps, 1863.
Doherty, William . . .	27	" " " Nov., 1863.
Lane, David	30	" " " Dec. 13, 1863.
Wood, James R. . . .	22	6th U. S. Cavalry, Oct., 1861.
Jones, David	34	11th Massachusetts, May 20, 1864.
Drown, Charles E., Corporal	22	11th Mass., May 20, 1864; Corporal Aug. 1, 1861; re-enlisted Jan. 2, 1864.
Daley, Dennis	22	11th Mass., May 20, 1864; Corporal, Aug. 1, 1861; re-enlisted Jan. 3, 1864.
Parmenter, Artemas . .	24	11th Mass., May 20, 1864; Corporal, Aug. 1, 1861; re-enlisted Jan. 4, 1864.
Roach, Cornelius . . .	29	11th Mass., May 20, 1864.
Soper, William	22	" " "
Parker, William H. . . .	29	" " "
Wright, Edward J. . . .	19	H.Q. Army Potomac; sent'e for desert'n.
Hull, Lorenzo B., Musician	20	Principal Musician, Feb. 22, 1863.
Brown, Charles H. . . .	20	Veteran Reserve Corps, Dec. 1, 1863.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Dorrans, John . . .	42	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Dwyer, John . . .	28	" " " "
Estabrook, William H. . .	18	" " " "
Fay, Marcellus E. . .	19	" " " "
Fitzgerald, Thomas . . .	21	" " " "
Flynn, Robert . . .	21	" " " "
Glover, George H. . .	20	Away wounded, when reg't was mus. out.
Goodspeed, Benjamin . . .	37	" " " "
Good, James . . .	20	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Haley, Patrick . . .	20	" " " "
Hoffman, John H. . .	21	" " " "
Holland, Timothy . . .	20	" " " "
Kennedy, Isaac S. . .	27	" " " "
Kennedy, Patrick . . .	28	" " " "
Murphy, John J. . .	19	" " " "
McElory, James . . .	27	" " " "
McInnis, Gordon . . .	19	" " " "
Neal, John A. . .	20	" " " "
Onthank, Ares M. . .	18	" " " "
Packard, Henry . . .	48	Away sick, when regt. was muster'd out.
Reading, Samuel B. . .	20	" " " "
Reynolds, William H. . .	28	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Richards, John . . .	35	" " " "
Smith, Robert B. . .	25	" " " "
Swain, George W. . .	19	" " " "
Tow, William T. . .	40	" " " "
Tuells, Elijah . . .	40	" " " "
Ward, Ephraim . . .	40	" " " "
Waters, James N. . .	27	" " " "
Williams, Thomas F. . .	25	" " " "

Discharged.

Isaac H. Jones, 1st Sergeant . . .	37
Edward W. Delany, Sergeant . . .	28
John S. Clark, " . . .	29
Thomas E. Brackett, " . . .	31
George A. Tenney, 1st Sergeant, . . .	19
Edward A. Swett, Sergeant . . .	29
Amasa P. Johnson, " . . .	—
David L. Messer, " . . .	28
David P. West, Corporal . . .	24
Edward B. Current, " . . .	30
William Lewis, " . . .	24
Wm. H. Deverson, " . . .	23
John A. Williams, Wagoner . . .	34
Alden, James . . .	23
Alexander, Joseph B. . .	31
Anderson, John W. . .	18
Bradley, John A. . .	21
Bond, Thomas, Jr. . .	24
Burpee, James . . .	27
Ball, Thomas . . .	29
Blynn, James L. . .	36
Bryant, Caleb . . .	27
Brigham, Charles S. . .	42
Benson, William B. . .	19
Cormier, Theodore J. W. . .	18
Critchett, Joseph B. . .	42
Crafts, George G. . .	36
Fisher, Elbridge . . .	30
Fuller, David S. . .	24
Foster, John W. . .	24
Fernald, Thaddeus . . .	28
Flagg, George E. . .	24

Causes of Discharge.

Disability, July, 1861.
" " " "
To receive a commission, Dec., 1862.
Disability, July, 1861.
" Oct. 28, 1863.
" Oct. 14, 1862.
" Oct. 22, 1862.
" Jan. 9, 1863.
" July, 1861.
" Aug., "
" March 7, 1863.
" Aug. 3, 1862.
" Sept., 1861.
" July, "
" Aug., "
" Oct. 22, 1862.
" Jan. 9, 1863.
" Feb. 27, "
" Aug., 1861.
" March 13, 1861.
" Aug., 1861.
" July, "
" Oct. 7, 1862.
" Oct. 9, 1862.
" Records lost.
" Oct. 16, 1862.
" Aug., 1861.
" Jan. 30, 1863.
" Aug., 1861.
" " "
" " "

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Flynn, Lawrence	—	Disability, Nov. 26, 1862.
Ford, Edward J.	21	" March 27, 1863.
Fanning, David	—	" Records lost.
Gallagher, Thomas	27	" Feb. 2, 1864.
Goodhue, Sumner A.	—	" Oct. 7, 1862.
Goddard, John J.	23	" July, 1861.
Hatch, William C.	28	" Oct. 25, 1862.
Hunneman, John	25	" Dec. 1, "
Harrington, James G.	20	" Aug. 20, "
Horn, Eben	26	" Aug. 9, 1861.
Hawkins, Wentworth	26	" July, 1861.
Hollis, Othaniel T.	31	" Jan. 24, 1863.
Holbrook, Samuel	—	" Records lost.
Knight, George E.	31	" July, 1861.
Kelley, James	—	" April, 1862.
Keith, Avery F.	—	" Oct. 10, 1862.
Landgreen, Christian A.	32	" Aug. 1, 1861.
Mills, John R.	20	" Jan. 7, 1864.
Minoke, William	31	" July 21, 1861.
Murphy, Thomas	22	" Records lost.
McLachlin, John	30	" Feb. 18, 1863.
Meagher, Thomas	28	" March 3, "
Shaw, Albert	24	" Aug. 1, 1861.
Small, Pembroke W.	30	" Sept., 1861.
Tilton, Leroy T.	—	" " 22, 1862.
Wiley, William	22	" Nov. 20, "
Walch, John	25	" Dec. 1, "
Wellock, Samuel C.	19	" April 10, 1863.
White, Benjamin H.	29	" Nov. 4, 1862.
<i>Transferred.</i>		<i>To what Organization.</i>
Eben O. Avery, Sergeant	28	Veteran Reserve Corps, July 1, 1863.
Frederick W. Trowbridge, Corp.	19	" " " "
Samuel W. Wharf, Corporal	38	" " " Jan. 15, 1864.
Bell, William J.	21	Battery K, 4th U. S. Art., Sept., 1862.
Cross, Isaac	28	11th Ms., May 20, '64; to serve for des'n.
Estabrook, William W.	42	Veteran Reserve Corps, Sept., 1863.
Garren, George	45	" " " Feb. 11, 1864.
Hayes, Alonzo L.	22	" " " March 16, 1864.
Pierce, Albion D.	22	" " " Sept., 1863.
<i>Died.</i>		<i>Causes of Death.</i>
Edward J. McGinnis, Sergeant	23	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Daniel W. Hale, Wagoner	42	Died of injuries, May, 1862.
George Wright, Musician	21	Killed at Glendale, Va., June 30, 1862.
Blessington, Bernard	—	" Bull Run, Va., Aug. 29, "
Driscoll, Richard J.	23	Died of disease at Baltimore, Aug., 1862.
Edwards, Orrin	35	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Grant, Charles P.	26	Died of disease, June, 1861.
Hull, William C.	19	Killed at Locust Grove, Nov. 27, 1863.
Kilivinton, William	40	" Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, "
Latimer, William H.	21	" " " " "
McCormick, William	20	Died of disease, Dec. 8, 1862.
Mahlman, William	22	" wounds, Dec. 22, 1862.
Woods, Charles H.	47	" " July 10, 1863.
<i>Deserted.</i>		<i>Date of Desertion.</i>
John S. Gould, Sergeant	25	July 18, 1861.
Michael Mealey, "	28	Aug. 28, 1862.
Alexander Boudroux, Corporal,	22	Nov., 1861.
Frank Stone, Musician	28	June 15, 1861.
Coblentz, Robert B.	24	Aug., 1861.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Clough, Robert B . . .	21	Sept., 1861.
Cross, Isaac . . .	38	Aug., "
Cavanaugh, Charles . . .	21	Sept., "
Chapman, John B. . . .	25	June 15, 1861.
Crymble, Charles, Jr. . .	23	" " "
Doneth, Herman . . .	18	July, "
Donahugh, Bartholomew .	25	Sept., "
Desmond, John . . .	20	June, "
Grimble, Charles . . .	1	Aug., "
Harding, Josiah . . .	22	June, "
Hamblin, Cyrus . . .	1	Dec. 13, 1862.
Lloyd, Thomas B. . . .	23	Sept., 1861.
Murphy, M. . . .	1	Records lost.
McFarland, John . . .	21	June 15, 1861.
McCabe, Stephen . . .	29	" " "
Meador, John F. . . .	1	Sept. 11, 1862.
Rogers, Joseph . . .	20	Aug., 1861.
Sullivan, Stephen P. . .	1	Nov., 1862.
Wilkinson, Richard . . .	27	Dec., 1861.
Watson, John . . .	31	Records lost.
Zirzig, William . . .	32	" "

Company D.

William Vincent, 1st Sergeant .	22	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Edward Riedell, Sergeant .	26	" " " "
Frank T. Palmer, " . . .	24	" " " "
Alfred Hockings, " . . .	22	" " " "
John E. Hickey, " . . .	23	" " " "
Albert G. Packer, Corporal .	19	" " " "
George E. Haines, " . . .	21	" " " "
William Roland, " . . .	27	" " " "
Isaac P. Gragg, " . . .	18	" " " "
John D. Pierce, " . . .	18	" " " "
John O. Senter, " . . .	26	" " " "
Edward W. Lydston, " . . .	20	" " " "
Joseph W. Phillips, Musician .	15	" " " "
Charles W. Bardeen, " . . .	14	" " " "
George W. Jordan, Wagoner .	20	" " " "
Brooks, John . . .	22	" " " "
Bryant, James . . .	29	" " " "
Benjamin, William N. . . .	19	" " " "
Butler, George H. . . .	18	" " " "
Baldwin, John H. . . .	19	" " " "
Buxton, Benjamin F. . . .	18	" " " "
Childs, William H. . . .	23	" " " "
Chamberlin, Aretes C. . . .	21	" " " "
Cunningham, James . . .	44	" " " "
Donley, William H. . . .	22	" " " "
Downes, Charles H. . . .	29	" " " "
Delastin, William . . .	32	" " " "
Downes, George W. . . .	43	" " " "
Dean, Charles H. . . .	23	" " " "
Danforth, Robert K. . . .	28	" " " "
Feyhl, Charles A. . . .	20	" " " "
Goward, John E. E. . . .	22	" " " "
Gardner, Noyes . . .	25	" " " "
Griggs, Edward W. . . .	27	" " " "
Haslam George M. . . .	30	" " " "
Hews, Walter . . .	35	" " " "
Hutchinson, Solomon H. . .	21	" " " "
Kyle, Joseph . . .	19	" " " "
Littlefield, Horatio G. . .	21	" " " "
Macomber, Daniel D. . . .	22	" " " "

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Murray, George	38	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Macrea, James R.	28	" " " "
Phillips, Joseph M.	21	" " " "
Parker, James G.	20	" " " "
Richardson, Atwill	43	" " " "
Robbins, Asaph.	20	" " " "
Sheperd, William	37	" " " "
Turner, John T.	27	" " " "
Tillson, Charles O.	26	" " " "
<i>Discharged.</i>		<i>Causes of Discharge.</i>
Moses H. Warren, 1st Sergeant	34	Second Lieut., Feb. 10, 1862.
John S. Willey, Sergeant	30	" " July 18, "
Thomas M. Miller, "	26	Disability, Nov. 19, 1862.
James M. Sprague, "	27	" June 30, 1863, wounded.
John G. L. White, "	23	Commis'd in 5th Mass. Cav., Mar. 13, '64.
Edward C. B. Brown, Corporal	19	Disability, May 13, 1863, since died.
Robert B. Dunn, "	29	" May 30, 1862.
Charles A. Lambert, "	24	" Oct. 31, 1863, wounded.
William E. Manning, "	19	Sergeant-Major, June 25, 1862.
William R. Rice, "	28	Disability, Oct. 17, 1862, wounded.
Isaac Scott, "	31	" March 3, 1863.
Zachariah L. Barton, "	24	" Nov. 30, 1862, wounded.
Charles A. S. Hardy, Musician	57	" May 11, "
Edward Carroll, "	40	Fife-Major, July 16, 1861.
Abbott, George W.	33	Disability, June 24, "
Andrews, Joseph A.	26	" May 11, 1862.
Batchelder, Charles F.	20	" Aug. 29, 1861.
Briggs, Alonzo S.	21	" " "
Bennett, George H.	24	Commissioned in 38th Mass., Aug. 26, '62.
Berry, John H.	18	Disability, Sept. 25, 1862.
Blaslan, Gideon	31	" Feb. 14, 1863, lost right hand.
Bowles, John H.	20	" Mar. 12, " lost left arm.
Burlingame, Charles W.	20	" Feb. 14, "
Barnes, Michael	33	" April 6, "
Cram, Lemuel P.	21	" Aug. 29, 1861.
Cushman, Zebedee M.	24	" " "
Cook, William A.	20	" June 26, 1862, since died.
Claffley, William	18	" Nov. 22, 1862, lost left arm.
Conway, William H.	22	" Oct. 18, "
Curley, Thomas	32	" Jan. 24, 1863.
Coburn, Gridley	23	" April 20, "
Currier, Elbridge E.	33	" July 3, 1863, wounded.
Estes, Levi	22	" Feb. 14, " "
Foster, Joseph A.	23	" Aug. 29, 1861.
Ford, William A.	21	" " "
Fleming, William J.	23	" " "
Fillebrown, Samuel A.	26	" Oct. 1, 1862, wounded.
Fairbanks, John W.	19	" Mar. 24, 1863. "
Gilbert, John	42	" Aug. 29, 1861.
Graves, Benjamin F.	37	" Oct. 22, 1862, since died.
Goodwin, Parker	21	" " "
Gridley, Thomas M.	35	" Feb. 3, 1863, wounded.
George, Daniel E.	24	" Mar. 13, 1864.
Hodges, Alonzo	23	" Aug. 29, 1861.
Hamilton, Robert S.	26	" Nov. 19, 1862, wounded.
Henay, William S.	30	" Nov. 20, "
Mansur, James E.	25	" Oct. 4, "
Mansfield, William T.	27	" Nov. 25, "
Newton, Gilbert	25	" May 30, "
Nugent, James H.	29	" Nov. 20, "
Parks, Joseph W.	19	" Aug. 29, 1861.
Phillips, Preserved B.	19	" Jan. 7, 1863.
Richards, Aaron H.	22	" Aug. 29, 1861.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Rhodes, Charles W. C.	22	Commissioned in 41st Mass., Nov. 6, '62.
Sampson, Charles M.	19	Capt. and A. Q. M., April 16, 1863.
Sherman William F.	29	Insanity, April 21, 1863.
Taylor, Nelson	26	Disability, Oct. 22, 1862, lost left arm.
Webster, Amos	24	Second Lieut., May 5, 1862.
Wyatt, John H.	19	Disability, Sept. 27, 1862.
Wilder, William P.	25	" Nov. 25, "
Whall, George F.	42	" Nov. 19, "
Warren, Charles A.	24	" Feb. 26, 1863.
Wiggin, William H.	37	" June 4, " since died.
Whitten, James B.	21	" June 23, "
Whall, William H. H.	18	No date, wounded.
Wright, Hiram A.	21	Quartermaster Sergeant, Jan. 1, 1864.

Transferred.

Clark, James A.	16	11th Mass., to serve for desertion.
Colleran, Thomas	22	" " May 20, 1864.
Litchfield, George G.	28	Veteran Reserve Corps, Sept., 1863.
Mathews, John W.	18	11th Mass., to serve for desertion.
Thomas, Wallace	29	" " May 20, 1864.
Tillson, Oliver A.	24	Veteran Reserve Corps, Sept., 1863.
Young, Joseph	35	" " " "

Died.

Charles A. Brazier, 1st Sergeant,	26	Killed at Williamsburg, Va., May 5, 1862.
Seth F. Clark, " "	23	Died Dec. 30, 1862, wounded.
Frederick Ran, Sergeant	21	Killed at Glendale, Va., June 30, 1862.
Isaac Williams, " "	43	" " " " " "
George R. Baxter, Corporal	22	" " Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, '63.
Stephen Badger, " "	21	" " " " " "
Bemis, William H.	24	Died of dis. at Wash'n, D. C., Aug. 20, '61.
Bennett, Stedman	38	" " " " " " 5, '63.
Calhum, Hugh	25	Killed at Bull Run, Va., Aug. 29, 1862.
Grey, Aurelius	21	Died, dis., Budd's Ferry, Md., Dec. 15, '61.
Ingraham, Hector	26	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., June 25, 1862.
Kyle, John	18	" Glendale, " 30, " "
Mathews, James M.	26	" Gettysburg, Pa., July 3, 1863.
Miller, Daniel B.	27	Killed on cars, Groton, Ct., June 15, '61.
Reynolds, Thomas W.	21	Died of dis., Har'n's L'd'g, Va., Aug. 5, '62.
Shackley, Warren K.	21	Killed at Williamsburg, Va., May 5, '62.

Deserted.

Allen, Charles A.	20	Bladensburg, Md., Aug. 30, 1861.
Cutler, Charles D.	19	Hospital, Dec. 31, 1862.
Dove, Frank H.	21	July 29, 1863.
Palmer, George W.	23	Cambridge, Mass., June 11, 1861.
Ruggles, Francis E.	33	" " " " " "
Thorpe, William	24	Williamsburg, Va., May, 1862.

Company E.

Thomas Strangman, 1st Sergeant,	31	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Hugh Cummings, Sergeant	34	" " " " " "
George T. Baldwin, "	18	" " " " " "
Francis Duffy, "	28	" " " " " "
Joseph C. Riley, "	19	" " " " " "
Charles H. Williston, Corporal	22	" " " " " "
John S. Larrabee, "	22	" " " " " "
Amasa G. Smith, "	27	" " " " " "
Charles Herman, "	19	" " " " " "
William B. Johnson, "	22	" " " " " "
Jedediah Strangman, "	21	" " " " " "

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Samuel O. Hebbard, Corporal,	19	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Thomas E. Bates, Musician,	18	" " " "
Perkins H. Bagley, Jr., "	16	" " " "
Alexander, Benjamin D. .	33	" " " "
Britton, Samuel . . .	19	" " " "
Bird, William G. . . .	21	" " " "
Burditt, Charles E. . .	21	" " " "
Bassett, Samuel . . .	18	" " " "
Bagley, George F. . . .	19	" " " "
Barney, Charles H. . .	30	" " " "
Cummings, Thomas . .	18	" " " "
Crooker, George H. . .	20	" " " "
Clark, William H. . . .	19	" " " "
Cantwell, Robert . . .	18	" " " "
Clark, Charles	24	" " " "
Carey, Edward	29	" " " "
Dillaway, George E. . .	26	" " " "
Edwards, Samuel . . .	22	" " " "
Elms, Cornelius	28	" " " "
Elms, George W. . . .	24	" " " "
Elms, Rollin N. . . .	23	" " " "
Goodrich, Samuel A. . .	38	" " " "
Gray, William	35	" " " "
Howe, Uriah	21	Away woud'd, when regt. was must'd out.
Jones, Charles A. . . .	22	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Kane, Richard W. . . .	25	" " " "
Kelley, Michael A. . . .	25	" " " "
Kenney, Robert	22	" " " "
Kirkland, Robert . . .	29	" " " "
Leatherbee, James D. . .	21	" " " "
Locke, James S. . . .	19	" " " "
Leahe, John	23	" " " "
Moulton, Samuel	25	" " " "
Monroe, George S. . . .	20	" " " "
Mahony, John	21	" " " "
Neth, Michael	25	" " " "
Potter, John	21	" " " "
Potter, Edward	38	" " " "
Sloan, Thomas C. . . .	20	" " " "
Shattuck, Edwin	37	" " " "
Smith, Alfred W. . . .	24	" " " "
Tanner, Ferdinand . . .	20	" " " "
Taylor, John	20	" " " "
Whittier, Napoleon B. . .	25	" " " "
Whittier, Reuben S. . .	22	" " " "
Wilkins, George W. . . .	19	" " " "

Discharged.

William C. Johnston, 1st Serg't .	25
George Myrick, Sergeant . . .	25
George King, "	25
Albert Pierce, Corporal . . .	—
James A. Lakin, "	—
Horace F. Brown, "	—
David B. Murphy, "	35
Joseph A. Smith, Wagoner . .	—
Allen, Lorenzo L. . . .	—
Campbell, Thomas W. . . .	—
Craig, Charles	—
Champney, William L. . . .	—
Duffield, John	—
Danforth, George	15
Dalton, George W. . . .	—

Causes of Discharge.

First Lieut., Aug. 20, 1861; Capt. Aug. 21 1862; dismissed Feb., 1863.
Second Lieut., July 12, 1862.
Disability, July, 1861.
" Nov., "
" March 12, 1863.
Appointment in Navy, Sept., 1862.
Disability, Oct. 10, 1862.
" " 10, "
" " 16, "
" " 11, "
Aug. 18, 1861.
Dec. 22, 1862.
Nov., 1861.
Aug. 21, 1862.
Jan. 4, 1863.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Derby, Samuel	—	Disability, Dec. 26, 1862.
Damery, Richard	35	" Aug., 1861.
Emerson, Moses C.	35	" Jan. 19, 1861.
Fuller, William H.	—	" Mar. 19, 1863.
Gaskins, James	—	" Oct. 10, 1862.
Herman Conrad	—	" Dec. 10, " "
Holmes, William	—	" Sept. 5, " wounded.
Haynes, Daniel B.	—	" Nov. 10, 1861, " acciden'ly.
Hartford, George W.	—	" Aug., 1861.
Ingalls, George	—	" " " "
Locke, Samuel A.	33	" " " "
Lanagan, William H.	—	" Oct. 10, 1862.
McKenna, Alfred	19	" Feb. 7, 1863.
Marcy, Howard F.	36	" Oct. 7, 1862.
Neil, John	—	" Mar. 22, 1863.
Neil, Charles H.	—	" Oct. 27, 1862.
Oldham, Charles	—	" Nov. 21, " "
O'Brien, Jeremiah	44	" Aug., 1861.
Proctor, Benjamin	—	" Dec. 23, 1863.
Ransom, Wallace	—	" Aug., 1861.
Ransom, Everlyne B.	—	" " " "
Shields, William	31	" Jan. 4, 1863.
Swain, John P.	—	" Aug., 1861.
Sackett, Moses	—	" " " "
Severance, Orren S.	—	" " " "
Wilcutt, John S.	20	" Nov. 7, 1862, wounded.
Williams, Martin J.	25	" Mar. 21, 1863.
Wiley, Frank	—	" Aug., 1861.
Young, William O.	—	" Oct. 19, 1862, wounded.
Young, Samuel W.	—	" Sept., 1861.

Transferred.

		<i>To what Organization.</i>
Clapp, James S.	30	11th Mass., May 20, 1864.
Emery, John A.	29	" " " "
Gill, Henry W., Jr.	32	Vet. Res. Corps, Aug., 1863, record lost.
Hatchky, Fritz	—	" " " " " "
Pierce, Frederick	21	" " " " " "
Shackford, William B.	42	" " " " Jan. 21, 1864.

Died.

		<i>Causes of Death.</i>
William Kelren, Sergeant	31	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Horace O. Blake, Corporal	—	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., June 25, 1862.
Albert A. Farnham, "	23	Died at Richmond, Va., Nov. 15, 1863.
Cox, Samuel H.	32	" " " " " "
Chadwick, Samuel S.	20	" " " " " "
Baxter, George O.	—	Killed at Fair Oaks, Va., June 25, 1862.
Burditt, George W.	—	" " " " " "
Brown, Charles A.	23	" " " " " "
Gaskins, William B.	—	" " " " " "
Kettell, Frederick S.	—	Died of w'nds at Gettysb'g, Pa., J'y 2, '63.
Lawson, Thomas	28	" " " " " "
Tucker, John C. M.	—	Died of dis., at Pot. Creek Hos. Ap. 23, '63.
Whitman, Edward P.	28	Missing in action since June 30, 1862.

Deserted.

		<i>Date of Desertion.</i>
Joseph W. Dodge, Musician	—	Bladensburg, Md., Aug. 8, 1861.
Joseph A. Converse, Corporal	—	Sent to hospital, June 27, 1863, not since been heard from.
Berry, Charles O.	—	Camp Hooker, Md., Nov., 1861.
Bayley, Charles	27	New York, Aug. 2, 1863.
Closson, Edward P.	23	Falmouth, Va., June 11, 1863.
Howe, John B.	—	May 22, 1862.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Hawkes, Thomas B. Jr.	30	Georgetown, D.C., June 6, 1863.
Monroe, William	—	Camp Hooker, Md., Nov., 1861.
Pierce, Joseph H.	—	Wounded at 2d Bull Run, not since reported.
Ruggles, Henry P.	—	Cambridge, Mass., June 15, 1861.
Ransom, William H.	19	Falmouth, Va., Jan. 25, 1863.
Ryan, James	—	Wounded at 2d Bull Run, not since reported.
Simmons, Albert	19	Falmouth, Va., Jan. 25, 1863.
Stevens, William A.	—	In hospital; not been heard of since July 4, 1862.
Shaw, Jerry	19	Frederick, Md., July, 1863.
Tighe, James T.	—	Camp Hooker, Md., Nov., 1861.
Woodbury, Frank V.	—	Bladensburg, Md., Aug., 1861.

Company F.

William H. Jepson, 1st Sergeant,	27	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Lewis H. Hall, Sergeant.	25	" " " " "
John J. Bennett, "	26	" " " " " ; Corporal,
		May 15, 1862; Sergeant, Aug. 1, 1863.
William J. Loheed, "	23	Mustered out, May 25, 1864; Corporal,
		May 15, 1862; Sergeant, Aug. 1, 1863.
William H. Foss, "	21	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Luke K. Landy, Corporal	22	" " " " "
James A. Martin, "	25	" " " " "
John J. Noyes, "	22	" " " " "
James Armstrong, "	20	" " " " "
George W. W. Foss, "	19	" " " " "
Abial A. Wyeth, "	18	" " " " "
Conant, Ira	34	" " " " "
Carney, John H.	28	" " " " "
Cook, Hollis	33	" " " " "
Drury, Elijah G.	22	" " " " "
Dew, James	19	" " " " "
Frost, Thomas P.	22	" " " " "
Foss, Benjamin D.	25	" " " " "
Faunce, Albert A.	22	" " " " "
Graves, George	38	" " " " "
Goulding, Cornelius D.	28	" " " " "
Gordan, Alexander	24	" " " " "
Hinds, George J.	21	" " " " "
Hammett, Charles R.	24	" " " " "
Hall, Ephraim H.	20	" " " " "
Hall, Edward G.	28	" " " " "
Ivers, Warren	23	" " " " "
Jewell, Benjamin W.	17	" " " " "
Kendall, James F.	25	" " " " "
Kiley, John	24	" " " " "
Lord, Warren L.	22	" " " " "
Lincoln, Charles K.	20	" " " " "
Lewis, Frederick A. S.	27	" " " " "
McKenzie, James F.	19	" " " " "
McManus, Thomas	23	" " " " "
McArt, Anthony	28	Missing in action, May 6, 1864.
Morris, Samuel H.	21	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Nuttall, Adam J.	23	" " " " "
Nowell, Francis S.	34	" " " " "
Poole, Joseph M.	21	" " " " "
Paul, Edward O.	28	" " " " "
Peaks, Albert P.	31	" " " " "
Richardson, Sanford H.	21	" " " " "
Richardson, Joseph A.	36	" " " " "
Sims, William	18	" " " " "

Names.	Age.	Remarks.
Sylvester, Vincent P.	46	At Parole Camp, taken pris. at Gettysb'g.
Stinson, George C.	20	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Sawtell, Amos J.	29	" " " "
Semple, William	34	" " " "
Tandy, Eleazer	24	" " " "
Thing, John D.	33	" " " "
Wood, George	30	" " " "
<i>Discharged.</i>		<i>Causes of Discharge.</i>
Clifton F. Kendall, Sergeant.	25	Oct. 15, 1862, on account of wounds.
Shadrach K. Morris, 1st Sergeant,	30	First Lieut., Sept. 13, 1862.
Robert B. Smith, " "	25	Boston, Mass., Aug. 15, '63, on acc't w'd's.
Charles F. Brown, " "	34	Oct. 19, 1863.
Theoph's L. Bishop, Corporal	23	Camp Union, Md.; records lost.
Job Dobson, " "	27	" " " "
William McDonald, Musician	19	Disability, May 9, 1863, at Boston, Mass.
John A. Bartlett, Wagoner	36	" " Oct. 14, 1862, at New York.
Montague, Daniel F.	26	Georgetown, D.C., July, 1861.
Knight, William	21	" " " "
Smith, George	29	" " " "
Adams, Edwin	19	Fort Albany, Va., Aug., 1861.
Brackett, Francis	25	Budd's Ferry, Md., Nov. 11, 1861.
Colson, Henry H.	18	Jan., 1862.
Foss, Edmund F.	22	Boston, Mass., April, 1862.
Stern, Simon	21	Bellevue Hosp., N.Y., Sept., 1862.
Lillie, Jefferson	23	Budd's Ferry, Md., Feb., '62; disability.
Prince, James H.	29	Oct. 25, 1862.
Knox, Charles H.	20	" " " "
Leary, James	22	N.Y., Oct. 18, 1862, on acc't of wounds.
Egan, John A.	25	Falmouth, Va., Dec. 1, '62, " "
Norwood, Joseph W.	20	Philadel., Pa., " 5, " "
Caldwell, Josiah	26	Portsm'th-Grove Hos., disabil.; no date.
Nelson, James	39	Washington, D. C., Jan., 1863.
Crowley, William	19	" " " "
Chandler, James	24	" " Feb. 7, " "
Foss, Charles H.	28	Providence, R.I., May 11, '63; disability.
Millard, George H.	21	Washington, D.C., March 4, 1863.
Chase, Warren J.	27	" " Feb. 10, " "
Abbott, James E.	22	Boston, Mass., Sept. 30, 1863; disability.
Chandler, Edward R.	30	Gen. Hos., N.Y., Oct. 7, " "
Stimpson, Jefferson	38	Boston, Mass.; no date.
Leary, William T.	28	Order of Adj.-Gen. of Mass.; no date.
Coffin, Charles H.	24	Newark, N.J., Feb. 2, 1863.
Welch, George H.	38	Brandy Station, Va., Jan. 2, '64, to re-en.
Mingle, George W., Musician	16	" " Mar. 10, '64, " "
Kuhn, John S.	23	Alexandria, Va., April 8, '64; disability.
Bennett, George A.	44	Falmouth, Va., Dec. 25, 1862, " "
Fay, William H.	24	Boston, Mass., " " " "
<i>Transferred.</i>		<i>To what Organization.</i>
Prest, John J.	18	To Co. I, for a Musician.
Weymouth, Charles L.	35	Veteran Reserve Corps, 1863.
Caldwell, Joseph H.	28	" " " Jan. 16, 1864.
Waterhouse, Thomas J.	28	" " " " 15, " "
Peasley, Alonzo A.	21	" " " no date.
Garrity, Daniel	27	" " " Feb. 15, 1864
Welch, George H.	38	11th Mass., May 21, 1864.
Mingle, George W., Musician	16	" " " "
Morris, John	32	" " " "
Knight, George A.	23	" " " "
Clark, Jotham W.	22	" " " "
Swallow, Alfred A., Corporal	24	Quartermaster Sergeant; no date.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
<i>Died.</i>		<i>Causes of Death.</i>
Barlow, Herbert L.	20	Accid. shot at Budd's F'y, Md., Jan. 3, '62.
Stevens, George Jr., Corporal,	25	Died of w'ds, Ft. Monroe, Va., M'h 16, '63.
Hulme, James M., "	28	" dis., at Falmouth, Va., Ap. 6, '63.
Haley, Michael, "	23	" w'ds, at Wash'n, D.C., July 7, '63.
Burrill, J. Q., "	20	" " at Gettysburg, Pa., " 4, '63.
Appleton, William H. "	21	" " " " " " " "
Derby, Edward A.	27	" dis., Har'n's L'd'g, Va., " 22, '62.
Stone, William W.	22	Killed at Williamsburg, Va., May 5, '62.
Houston, William F.	22	" Bull Run, Va., Aug. 29, 1862.
Morris, William	18	Died while having leg amputated, at Bull Run, Aug. 29, 1862.
Fogg, Orin	21	Died of wounds, Oct. 7, 1862.
Fogg, Elisha H.	21	Killed at Bull Run, Aug. 29, 1862.
Marston, Charles H.	—	Died of wounds at Georgetown, D.C., Aug. 29, 1862.
Morris, Christopher	26	Died at Reg. Hosp., of dis., Feb. 28, '63.
McIntire, Joseph M.	22	Killed at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, '63.
Greadon, Andrew	29	" " " " " "
Jollimore, William	26	" " " " " "
Moore, Andrew	43	" Gettysburg, Va., July 2, 1863.

<i>Deserted.</i>		<i>Date of Desertion.</i>
Jerome Carlton, Sergeant	25	At Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863. Deserted second time.
James E. Keeley, Corporal	22	Rep. deserter by order of Col., July 1, '63.
Henry A. Wright, "	23	At Fairfax Seminary, Va., Oct., 1862.
Arthur T. Currier, "	22	At Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 31, 1863.
John Cary, "	23	Parole Camp, Sept., 1863.
Ryan, John	18	Georgetown, D.C., July, 1861.
Sullivan, William	21	Fort Albany, Va., Aug., 1861.
Lavery, Arthur	22	" " " " " "
Lavery, Michael	24	" " " " " "
Waite, John	24	Bladensburg, Md., " " [treat.
De Laney, John	23	Bull Run, Va., July 22, 1861, while on re-
Wilson, John C.	23	Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862, while in line of battle.
Robinson, William P. D.	22	Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862, while in line of battle.
Kain, Edward J.	21	Falmouth, Va., Jan. 25, 1863.
Ayre, Daniel M.	37	" " May 13, " "
Riley, Hugh	26	New York, Aug. 7, 1863.
Tucker, William F.	—	Harrison's Landing, Va., 1862.
Bishop, Joseph S.	21	Parole Camp, Sept. 1, 1863.
Moore, Charles H.	24	" " " " " "
Gerry, John W.	22	Newark, N.J., 1862.
Gillespie, Edward C.	27	Aug., 1862. Place not known.

Company G.

George H. Tyler, 1st Sergeant	23	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
John Scates, Sergeant	23	" " " " " "
John P. Houghton, "	20	" " " " " "
Edwin L. Thayer, "	27	" " " " " "
Laban W. Turner, Corporal	27	" " " " " "
George Sawyer, "	27	" " " " " "
Alva J. Wilson, "	23	" " " " " "
Frank Carlisle, "	29	" " " " " "
Austin Bigelow, "	23	" " " " " "
Richard B. Smart, "	24	" " " " " "
William H. Houghton, "	25	" " " " " "
George W. Burditt, Musician	25	" " " " " "
James Elms, Wagoner	24	" " " " " "

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Abell, Salem	47	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Ashman, Samuel	24	" " " "
Bell, James H.	32	" " " "
Burke, Edward A.	20	" " " "
Barry, Alonzo L.	43	" " " "
Carver, John E.	22	" " " "
Cook, George D.	39	" " " "
Chinn, Edmund B.	30	" " " "
Day, Benjamin E.	25	" " " "
Desmond, Michael J.	26	" " " "
Fitzgerald, James	28	" " " "
Foy, George	22	" " " "
Foley, Dennis	37	" " " "
Garland, Robert F.	25	" " " "
Gilpatrick, Edward L.	26	" " " "
Gribben, James E.	37	" " " "
Haudlee, Thomas	26	" " " "
Hanihan, James	23	" " " "
Hubbard, George O.	30	" " " "
Kennedy, Thomas	35	Away sick when reg't was mustered out.
Lothrop, Thomas	45	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Maer, William	29	" " " "
Murphy, Andrew	25	" " " "
McGail, James	37	" " " "
McCarty, Cornelius	29	" " " "
McKenzie, Daniel	42	" " " "
Newcomb, Joseph A.	34	" " " "
Norton, James	29	" " " "
Parker, Thomas S.	34	" " " "
Rafferty, James	34	" " " "
Streeter, Wyman B.	28	" " " "
Sullivan, Marcus M.	23	" " " "
Symonds, Stillman F.	25	" " " "
Stanwood, George E.	45	" " " "
Savage, George B.	27	" " " "
Wilkinson, Thomas	23	" " " "
Wiley, John	34	" " " "

Discharged.

John McDonough, 1st Sergeant	26
Henry Hartley, Sergeant	30
George L. Lawrence, "	27
Rufus M. Meguire, 1st Sergeant, "	31
Rawlins T. Atkins, "	26
Bowers, Henry P.	22
Burnham, Wyman P.	29
Birch, Samuel	43
Boole, John A.	45
Clarke, James N.	30
Chamberlin, Charles H.	41
Clautir, Peter	21
Cassell, James P.	28
Carlin, Michael	28
Carbrey, James F.	21
Chadwick, James	43
Dennis, Theodore C.	20
Darlins, Samuel	45
Edgeworth, James F.	25
Edgeworth, Samuel B.	21
Estabrooks, Samuel P.	48
Forbes, John A.	34
Fuller, Charles G.	28
Garland, Stephen R.	24
Gilman, Edwin L., Corporal	24

Causes of Discharge.

First Lieut., July 1, 1862. [date unk'n.	
Second " Aug. 26, 1861; First Lieut.,	
" " 30, 1862.	
" " Mar. 2, 1863.	
Special Order, W.D., Dec. 28, 1863.	
Disability, Georgetown, D.C., July 19, '61.	
" David's Is., N. Y., Oct. 2, '62.	
Order War Department, May, 1862.	
Disability, Sept. 20, '62, Philadelphia, Pa.	
" June 15, '61, Cambridge, Mass.	
" July 19, '61, Georgetown, D.C.	
Gen. Or., Feb. 8, '62, Budd's Ferry, Md.	
Disability, Oct. 8, '62, n. Alexandria, Va.	
" Dec. 29, 1863, Boston, Mass.	
" Jan. 22, '63, Georgetown, D.C.	
" Feb. 27, '63, Camp Conv., Va.	
" Aug. 1, 1861, Arlington, Va.	
" Apr. 4, 1863, Boston, Mass.	
" July 19, '61, Georgetown, D.C.	
" 31, 1861, Arlington, Va.	
" Mar., 1862, Budd's Ferry, Md.	
" July 19, '61, Georgetown, D.C.	
" Nov. 5, 1862, Boston, Mass.	
" July 19, '61, Georgetown, D.C.	
" 31, 1861, Arlington, Va.	

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Graves, William W.	44	Disability, Aug. 31, 1861, Arlington, Va.
Gordon, George F.	20	" Sept. 25, " Bladensb'g, Md.
Goodwin, Charles H.	20	" Oct. 20, 1862.
Gray, William H.	21	Order War Department, May, 1862.
Gordon, John A.	32	Disability, April 9, '64, Wash'gton, D.C.
Holt, Joseph F.	38	" July 5, 1861, Georgetown, D.C.
Himes, Walter I.	18	Disability, Sept. 25, 1861, Bladensb'g, Md.
Hooper, John F.	30	" Aug. 31, 1862, New York.
Hoyt, William S.	22	" Oct. 8, 1862.
Hobart, Daniel K.	23	" " 27, " "
Hildreth, Jos. A., Corporal	21	Second Lieut., 38th Mass., Aug. 18, '62.
Harmon, Woodbury S.	30	Disability, Feb. 17, 1863, Boston, Mass.
Jackson, John F.	24	" July 25, 1861, Arlington, Va.
Johnson, Seth W.	29	" " 31, " "
Johnson, William H.	35	" Oct. 10, 1862, Alexandria, Va.
Karcher, Andrew B.	27	" July 19, '61, Georgetown, D.C.
Lucas, John	37	" Dec. 29, '62, Ft. Monroe, Va.
Long, Samuel T.	22	" Jan. 30, '63, Washington, D.C.
Moore, Francis, Sergeant	34	" July 25, 1861, Arlington, Va.
Moore, Samuel L.	25	" " " " "
Mahony, Dennis	22	" " " " "
Morton, Charles S., Corporal	41	" Sept. 1, 1863, Boston, Mass.
McDonald, Francis	38	" May 10, 1864, " "
McIntire, Joseph	24	" Mar. 1862, Budd's Ferry, Md.
Prescott, Fred'k A., Sergeant	27	" April 9, 1863, Boston, Mass.
Rosewell, James	33	" July 19, '61, Georgetown, D.C.
Rowe, Theodore N.	21	" " 31, '61, Arlington, Va.
Russell, Charles T.	24	" " " " "
Read, Benton H.	20	" Aug. 1, 1861, " "
Rowe, Richard P.	31	" Oct. 13, " Bladensb'g, Md.
Roberts, George B., Corporal	28	" Dec. 20, 1862.
Spooner, Granville T.	26	" July 19, '61, Georgetown, D.C.
Sawyer, George W., Corporal	23	" " 31, 1861, Arlington, Va.
Spear, George G., Jr.	20	" Aug. 1, " "
Searles, William A.	30	" Oct. 21, 1862, Boston, Mass.
Shaw, Charles	45	" April 17, 1863, Falmouth, Va.
Sears, Edward	24	" Aug. 1, 1861, Arlington, Va.
Stimson, Eugene	21	Order W. D., Jan. 10, '63, Wash'n, D.C.
Swain, Henry G.	47	Disability, Jan. 7, 1864, Philadelphia, Pa.
Terry, John D.	20	Order Capt. Snow, underage; date unk.
Thompson, George W., Corp'l	25	Disability, Aug. 1, 1861, Arlington, Va.
Thomas, Jefferson	25	" " " " "
Whitcomb, Actor J. P., Jr.	21	Order of Capt. Snow, June 15, 1861.
Willis, George H.	22	Disability, July 31, 1861, Arlington, Va.
Waller, Samuel W.	20	" Aug. 1, " "
Warren, Daniel	36	" Jan. 20, '63, Portsm'th Gr., R.I.
Wilson, John H., Sergeant	24	Promoted Captain 31st U. S. Col. Troops.

Transferred.

Connor, Timothy, Sergeant	30
Dearing, George T., Musician	19
Foster, William H.	33
Fisher, Alphonzo	21
Gifford, James F.	31
Hart, William N., Musician	45
Lockwood, Leverett L.	24
Madden, Elihu	20
Marlow, Peter W.	31
Moore, Charles F.	30
McMakin, Charles	37
Nagle, Garrett	46
Pierce, Joseph W.	24
Pope, Augustus R.	19
Rafferty, Edward	33

To what Organization.

Re-en.; tr. to Co. C, 11th Mass.,	My. 20, '64.
Veteran Reserve Corps,	Sept. 30, 1863.
Co. C, 11th Mass.,	May 20, 1864.
Sentenced to hard labor for desertion.	
Prom. to Sgt. and prin. Mus.;	date unk.
Co. K, 4th U. S. Art.,	Oct. 31, 1862.
Veteran Reserve Corps,	Sept. 1, 1863.
" " " " "	Nov. 6, " "
Co. C, 11th Mass.,	May 20, '61, for deser.
Re-enlis'd, Co. C, 11th Mass.,	May 20, '64.
Veteran Reserve Corps,	March 7, 1864.
" " " " "	July 1, 1863.
Company C, 11th Mass.,	May 20, 1864.
Co. C, 11th Mass.,	May 20, 1864.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Steperson, Allen	41	Veteran Reserve Corps, Aug. 1, 1863.
Wells, Charles F. . . .	23	Company E, 5th U. S. Art., date unkn'n.
<i>Died.</i>		<i>Causes of Death.</i>
Colson, William H., Sergeant	26	Killed at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Forrest, Gordon, "	31	" Blackb'ns F'd, Va., July 18, 1861.
Allen, John	21	" Glendale, Va., June 30, 1862.
Caswell, Joseph M. . . .	45	Died of w'ds at Glendale, Va., J'y 12, '62.
Brown, John W. . . .	27	Killed at Fred'burg, Va., Dec. 14, 1862.
Field, Eben	27	" Blackb'ns F'd, Va., July 18, '61.
Roome, Thomas	30	" " " " " "
Silvey, James S. . . .	23	" " " " " "
Smart, William H. . . .	20	" " " " " "
Tarbox, Henry	20	Died of dis., Harr's L'd'g, Va., J'y 30, '62.
William, Thomas H. . . .	26	" " Yorktown, Va., Apr. 22, '62.
Whitten, Henry G. . . .	23	Kil'd in action, Fair Oaks, Va., Je. 25, '62.
White, Philomen	28	Died of w'ds at Glendale, Va., J'y 1, " "
Wilson, William W. . . .	44	Missing at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, 1863; supposed killed.

<i>Deserted.</i>		<i>Date of Desertion.</i>
Andrews, Eben T. . . .	22	Bladensburg, Md., Nov. 7, 1861.
Berg, Thomas A. D. . . .	22	Alexandria, Va., Sept. 12, 1862.
Berne, Joel W. . . .	22	Burk's Station, Va., Nov. 18, 1862.
Butler, Thomas W. . . .	34	Near Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 17, 1862.
Field, Edward	26	March 1, 1863.
Gordon, Benjamin A. . . .	26	Near Alexandria, Va., Sept. 12, 1862.
Houghton, Stephen	22	March 1, 1863.
Rice, William F. . . .	20	Sept. 1, 1861.
Thompson, Leuben N. . . .	34	Fort Albany, Va., Aug. 9, 1861.
Wier, Samuel	29	Near Alexandria, Va., Sept. 12, 1862.
Riley, Hugh F. . . .	22	Portsmouth Grove, R.I., date unknown.
Wright, Peter	22	Jersey City, Oct. 14, 1863.
Williams, John	43	Riker's Island, N. Y., Sept. 18, 1863.

Company H.

Lionel D. Phillips, 1st Sergeant	22	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Samuel S. Pratt, Sergeant	30	" " " "
Samuel B. Bassett, "	20	" " " "
Isaac Alston, "	26	" " " "
Patrick J. Donovan, "	30	" " " "
Orville Bisbee, Corporal	26	" " " "
George B. Miller, "	32	" " " "
Charles A. Lord, Corporal	21	" " " "
Henry Wilson, "	20	" " " "
David McClure, "	37	" " " "
William D. Grover, "	23	" " " "
John P. Jones, "	31	" " " "
Horace A. Sawyer, Musician	18	" " " "
Allen, Nathaniel	28	" " " "
Allen, Hiram W. . . .	25	Ord. to rep. to Gen. Wild, July 15, 1863.
Alger, Charles H. . . .	23	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Blaisdell, Sargent	42	" " " "
Blanchard, Benjamin	26	" " " "
Childs, Samuel	21	" " " "
Clark, Leonard	21	" " " "
Cornell, Enoch C. . . .	35	" " " "
Davis, Nathaniel T. . . .	24	" " " "
Donegan, Thomas	19	" " " "
Drown, John G. . . .	36	" " " "
Emerson, Nathaniel B. . . .	23	" " " "
Flagg, Darius C. . . .	24	" " " "

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Fletcher, Calvin T.	27	Mustered out, May 25, 1865.
Grover, Fitzroy	18	" " " "
Green, George H.	19	" " " "
Hadley, Edward F.	39	" " " "
Hassett, Edward F.	24	" " " "
Heald, Timothy F.	31	Away sick when reg't was mustered out.
Holden, Leverett D.	18	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Jennings, Stephen E.	26	" " " "
Luke, John A.	27	" " " "
Lynch, William	35	" " " "
Mason, Henry	20	Away wou'd when reg't was must'd out.
Peabody, Edward M.	21	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Rogers, Frank H.	21	Away, in hospital.
Smith, William H.	26	Away, wounded.
Spooford, Daniel H.	19	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Spooner, Joseph W.	23	" " " "
Sullivan, Thomas O.	22	" " " "
Sullivan, George S.	28	" " " "
Thombs, Thomas	34	" " " "
Thurston, Joseph W.	30	" " " "
Toppan, John Q. A.	23	" " " "
Totten, William A. P.	20	" " " "
Tower, Stephen T.	22	" " " "
Welch, William	18	" " " "
Wyman, Frederick	20	Away sick when reg't was mustered out.
York, John	38	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.

*Discharged.**Causes of Discharge.*

Horatio Roberts, 1st Sergeant	—	Commissioned Oct. 12, 1861.
Edward G. Tuteen, "	21	" March 1, 1863.
Charles H. Carruth, "	29	Disability, Jan. 1, 1863.
James R. Gerrish, Sergeant	20	" Oct. 5, 1862.
John Harvey, "	30	" Sept. 13, 1863.
William P. Drury, "	21	Commissioned Sept. 8, 1862.
Edward L. Jones, Corporal	22	Disability, Sept. 6, 1862.
George O. Jewett, "	—	" July 22, 1861.
Jonathan J. Frost, "	43	" Oct. 26, 1862.
William A. Smith, "	25	Commissioned Aug. 18, 1862.
John H. Newling, "	27	Disability, 1862, month unknown.
Horatio N. Williams, Musician	18	" Sept. 6, 1862.
Appleby, Mark H.	30	" July 22, 1861.
Appleton, Charles A. J.	30	" " 30, "
Batcheldor, Ezra A.	23	" " 22, "
Bridges, William E.	26	On account of business, July 6, 1861.
Baker, Alexander B.	33	Disability, Aug., 1862.
Chaffee, Charles M.	—	July 22, 1861; no cause assigned.
Campbell, William H.	30	Disability, July 30, 1861.
Clement, William B.	25	" Jan. 24, 1863.
Chittick, Thomas	21	" 1862, month unknown.
Cooper, Oliver C.	23	" April, 1863.
Campbell, George W.	19	" 1862, month unknown.
Cushing, William G.	52	" March 3, 1863.
Day, John W.	23	" Aug. 29, 1861.
Drawbridge, Thomas N.	23	" Mar. 15, 1862.
Everdeen, Charles S.	23	" Nov. 3, 1862.
Everdeen, Wilbur F.	30	" Feb. 27, 1863.
Fellows, Charles O.	18	Commissioned Jan. 17, 1862.
Flanders, George I.	27	On account of cowardice, July 22, 1861.
Florence, Thomas	28	Disability, Dec., 1863.
Gerrish, William	18	" July 22, 1861.
Gilbert, Charles	32	" " "
Grantman, William	22	Commissioned Aug. 18, 1862.
Gray, George W.	27	Disability, Dec., 1862.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Grover, Christopher C.	28	Disability, April 10, 1863.
Grover, Amaziah	18	" May 1, 1864.
Gafferny, James	47	" Jan., 1863.
Haskell, Theodore F.	27	" July 24, 1862.
Huse, Nelson S.	19	" Mar. 30, "
Horton, Augustus E.	22	" Oct. 16, "
Halgreen, William C.	18	" Sept. 22, "
Isley, Jonathan C.	23	On account of cowardice, July 22, 1861.
Jackson, Charles A.	20	Commissioned Aug. 23, 1862.
Jewett, William M.	20	Disability, July 22, 1861.
Johnson, Henry	20	" Jan. 8, 1863.
James, John M.	19	" Feb. 18, "
Kelley, John	45	" May 24, "
Lamos, Horace A.	21	" Sept. 25, 1862.
Lane, William H.	22	" Oct. 20, "
Learned, Samuel F. H.	19	Commissioned in col'd reg't Mar. 27, '63.
Learned, George G.	27	Disability, Jan. 18, 1862.
Mason, Nathaniel E.	19	" Dec., 1862.
Moody, Francis O.	20	" Feb. 4, 1863.
Moore, John G.	26	" Mar. 7, "
Morrison, Richard L.	24	On account of cowardice, July 22, 1861.
Montague, William H.	38	Disability, Oct. 26, 1862.
McConnell, William	33	" Mar. 8, 1863.
Osborne, David W.	36	" Nov. 3, 1862.
Parsons, Joshua	29	" Oct. 20, "
Perley, Elbridge G.	20	" July 22, 1861.
Perkins, Calvin	35	" " 30, "
Spavin, Robert	25	" Aug. 29, "
Stone, George H.	18	" Oct. 12, 1862.
Saville, James H.	31	" Jan. 21, 1864.
Seavey, William M.	16	" Nov. 26, 1862.
Sands, George H.	18	" Nov. 5, "
Souther, William R.	18	" July 24, "
Tewksbury, Martin G.	18	" May 27, 1863.
Taylor, John	40	" Feb. 10, "
Veazie, Eli	20	" Mar. 23, 1864.
Whittaker, Abner G.	26	" July 28, 1862.
Walker, Henry	24	" Apr. 14, 1863.

*Transferred.**To what Organization.*

Chessman, John W.	29	Veteran Reserve Corps, Nov. 15, 1863.
Cudworth, John R.	36	Re-en; transf. to 11th Mass. May 20, '64.
Halgreen, Robert B.	20	1st U. S. Cavalry, Dec. 10, 1862.
Loud, Nathan N.	23	Re-en; transf. to 11th Mass., May 20, '64.
Sawyer, Thorndike H.	42	Veteran Reserve Corps., Jan. 18, 1864.
Ward, George	40	Re-enlisted and transferred to 11th Mass., May 20, 1864.
Woods, Lemuel F.	27	Veteran Reserve Corps, Feb. 15, 1864.

*Died.**Causes of Death.*

Andrews, Walter B.	22	Killed at Yorktown, Va., April 26, 1862.
Bigelow, Joseph H.	20	Died of wounds, Sept. 22, 1862.
Bigelow, Thomas H., Sergeant	22	" " June 2, 1863.
Bacon, George	22	Kil'd at Blackb'n's Ford, Va., July 18, '61.
Batchelor, William C.	22	Died of disease, Sept. 29, 1862.
Bailey, Henry S.	18	Killed accidentally, at Hunter's Ford, Va., Nov. 30, 1862.
Crowell, Philander	22	Kil'd at Blackb'n's Ford, Va., July 18, '61.
Densmore, William J.	27	Died of w'nds at Manas's, Va., Sept. 3, '62.
Emerson, Stephen G.	24	Kil'd at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, '63.
Fox, William A.	28	Died of sta'v'n at Ric'm'd, Va., Nov. 21, '63.
Gross, Edward	36	Kil'd at Spottysylv. C.H., Va., May 12, '64.
Heald, Samuel C.	21	" Manassas, Va., Aug. 29, 1862.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Harding, Thomas, Sergeant	21	Kil'd at Blackb'n's Ford, Va., July 18, '61.
Kingsbury, Allen A.	21	" Yorktown, Va., April 26, 1862.
Kelley, Lawrence H.	20	" Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1863.
Luke, William H.	31	Died of w'ds at Manassas, Va., Sept. 13, '62.
Murphy, James H.	23	Kil'd at Blackb'n's Ford, Va., July 18, '61.
Mandeville, John M., 1st Serg't	27	" Manassas, Va., Aug. 29, 1862.
Needham, Thomas	22	" Blackb'n's Ford, Va., July 18, '61.
Noyes, George A.	39	Killed at Yorktown, Va., April 26, 1862.
Pearce, Henry A., Corporal	32	Died of dis. at Wash'n, D.C., Feb. 22, '62.
Smith, William D.	23	Killed at Yorktown, Va., April 26, 1862.
Smith, Chauncey C.	22	Died of dis. at Edgart'n, Ms., Sept. 8, '63.
Wentworth, Albert F.	18	Kil'd at Blackb'n's Ford, Va., J'y 18, '61.
<i>Deserted.</i>		<i>Date of Desertion.</i>
Jacobs, Edward C.	21	Alexandria, Va., Nov. 12, 1862.
Stoddard, George L.	19	Sept., 1862.
Wright, William T., Corporal	18	Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa., Dec., 1863.
<i>Missing in Action.</i>		
Andrews, Robert	25	Near Spottsylvania. C. H., Va., May 10, '64.
Company I.		
William W. Eaton, 1st Sergeant	29	Mustered out, May 25, 1864; 1st Sergeant, Aug. 1, 1863.
George F. Marden, Sergeant	25	Must'd out, May 25, '64; Ser., Nov. 1, '62.
William Fourer, "	41	" " " " May 1, '63.
Thomas Malady, "	23	" " " " Aug. 1, '63.
Frederick A. Wallis, Corporal	25	" " " Corp., Aug. 10, '62.
Timothy Hurley, "	39	" " " " '62.
William Prescott, "	25	" " " " Oct. 13, '62.
Isaac Clark, "	40	In hosp. at Washington, D. C., wounded; Corporal, Dec. 8, 1862.
Charles A. Bacon, "	28	Must. out, May 25, '64; Corp., Apr. 8, '63.
Alexander Grant, "	27	" " " " Aug. 1, "
John F. Harney, "	23	" " " " " "
John J. McCabe, Musician	22	" " " " " "
John J. Prest, "	20	" " " " " "
J. Foster Doane, Wagoner	28	" " " " " "
Allen, Edward F.	24	" " " " " "
Boss, William	31	" " " " " "
Brown, Horace M.	47	" " " " " "
Brintnell, John E.	29	" " " " " "
Barton, John	28	" " " " " "
Cilley, John B.	32	" " " " " "
Cripps, John	20	Away woun'd when reg't was must. out.
Dean, George A.	23	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Duggan, John	20	" " " " " "
Downing, James H.	43	" " " " " "
Finnegan, Edward	25	" " " " " "
Fillebrown, Charles E.	33	" " " " " "
Flynn, Thomas	37	" " " " " "
Fielden, Dennis	23	" " " " " "
Fuller, Harrison	26	" " " " " "
Gordon, George E.	32	" " " " " "
Haskell, Edward B.	21	" " " " " "
Harrington, Elisha R.	27	In hosp. when reg't was mustered out.
Houston, Caleb	30	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Hood, James	24	" " " " " "
Jones, Franklin	35	" " " " " "
Kilburn, George P.	27	" " " " " "
Livermore, Thomas	26	" " " " " "

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Lloyd, Charles J.	29	Mustered out, May 25, 1865.
Murray, William	32	" " " "
Morgan, William	49	" " " "
Mozart, George W.	42	" " " "
Mahoney, Patrick	37	" " " "
Moulton, Arthur B.	33	At Annapolis, Md., when reg't mus. out.
McQuestion, George E.	26	Sick when regiment was mustered out.
Naudasher, John	23	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Nugent, John A.	28	" " " "
Newhall, James F.	23	" " " "
O'Brien, Thomas	26	" " " "
Payne, George A.	21	" " " "
Payberg, Charles	22	" " " "
Rooney, Hubert	23	" " " "
Towle, Augustine	29	Away wou'd when reg't was must'd out.
Townsend, Charles	34	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Woodhall, Samson	42	" " " "

*Discharged.**Causes of Discharge.*

James Doherty, Sergeant	32	Second Lieut., Dec. 25, 1862.
James Finney, "	30	On account of wounds; date unknown.
James P. Taylor, "	25	Disability, May 25, 1863.
Forester A. Pelby, "	24	Second Lieut., Aug. 26, 1861.
Charles Burbank, Corporal	22	Disability, July 20, 1861.
James W. Dana, "	34	" Dec. 22, 1862.
William F. Durlow, "	27	" July 20, 1861.
John E. Grant, "	32	" Sept. 2, "
William H. Homans, "	24	For promotion, March 1, 1863.
John A. Wilkinson, "	29	Disability, July 21, 1861.
Andrews, John D.	19	" " "
Breck, Isaac C.	21	" " "
Bridgman, La Roy S.	18	" Sept. 2, "
Bacon, Hiram	46	" Dec. 27, 1862.
Cushing, Samuel W.	26	" July 20, 1861.
Carpenter, Patrick	18	" Sept. 2, "
Chamberlin, Henry L.	24	" " "
Collins, James H.	22	" " "
Coggins, Edward J.	30	" Mar. 2, 1862.
Carroll, Charles A.	26	" Oct., 1862.
Carlin, John	36	" Mar. 27, 1863.
Daily, William	39	" July 20, 1861.
Emory, Andrew J.	25	" Feb. 17, 1863.
Finney, John F.	20	" Sept. 2, 1861.
Freeman, William N.	31	" Oct. 10, 1862.
Ford, James P.	32	" Sept. 30, "
Gwinn, George L.	25	" July 20, 1861.
Gardner, John W.	41	" Sept. 2, "
Goodridge, Augustus P.	23	" Oct. 3, 1862.
Gracie, William R.	36	" May, 1863.
Huth, John	31	" Sept. 2, 1861.
Hall, Nicholas S.	21	On account of wounds, Aug. 25, 1862.
Higgins, Joseph	22	Disability, Jan. 14, 1863.
Kimball, Gardner A.	26	For promotion, Jan. 14, 1864.
Lynch, Mark	41	Disability, May 27, 1863.
Langland, Isaac	26	" Sept. 21, "
Murphy, Robert W.	19	" July 20, 1861.
McGee, John C.	27	" Sept. 2, "
Murphy, John J.	21	" " "
McIntire, Nelson W.	25	" Dec. 22, 1862.
Mitchell, John	22	" Dec. 23, "
Muloy, Mark B.	26	" Mar. 31, 1863.
McLean, George	41	" Oct. 13, 1862.
Newhall, Micajah	22	" Mar. 16, "
Nerland, William A. M.	22	On account of wounds, Nov. 1, 1862.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Niles, William A. M.	18	Disability, Nov. 18, 1862.
Peterson, Robert W.	19	" July 20, 1861.
Proctor, James	41	" Feb. 8, 1862.
Roach, John C.	22	" Sept. 2, 1861.
Ruth, William B.	23	" Sept. 2, 1862.
Russell, Maynard	1	" Oct. 29, "
Starr, Delaney	19	" Sept. 2, 1861.
Sweeny, John	33	" " "
Stranger, Andrew	45	" Dec. 27, 1862.
Spear, James	35	" Oct. 8, "
Sargent, Cyrus C.	24	" Sept. 27, "
Tyner, George H.	23	" July 20, 1861.
Wilkinson, Charles A.	22	" " "
Williams, Harvey	35	" Sept. 2, "
Wilson, James	30	" Mar. 16, "
Wilson, Wentworth	25	On account of wounds, Sept. 24, 1862.
White, Patrick	23	Disability, March 20, 1863.
<i>Transferred.</i>		<i>To what Organization.</i>
Frank W. Marshall, 1st Sergeant	29	Sergeant-Major, April 1, 1863.
Bohnart, Jacob	29	Re-en; trans. to 11th Mass., May 21, '64.
Hutchius, Edward R.	21	Medical Cadets, Aug. 31, 1861.
Johnson, George	41	Re-en; trans. to 11th Mass., May 21, '64.
Kidder, George R.	27	Veteran Reserve Corps, Feb. 15, 1864.
McClaire, Eugene	38	" " " Nov. 11, 1863.
Maguire, James	25	11th Mass., May 21, 1864.
Thayer, William	46	Commissary-Sergeant, April 1, 1863.
<i>Died.</i>		<i>Causes of Death.</i>
George W. Harris, 1st Sergeant	33	Killed at Bull Run, Va., Aug. 29, 1862.
Andrew Bertram, Sergeant	38	Died of wounds; date unknown.
Charles F. Ferguson, "	24	" " Sept. 19, 1862.
Richard McKay, Corporal	23	Died dis. at Poplar Hill, Va., June 10, '62.
Luther M. Bent, "	20	Died of wounds, Oct. 15, 1862.
Frank Singer, "	21	" " Oct. 10, 1862.
Oliver E. Simpson, "	24	Kil'd at Blackb'n's Ford, Va., July 18, '62.
Benson, William R.	20	" Williamsburg, Va., May 5, 1862.
Crowell, Jeremiah	28	" Glendale, Va., June 30, 1862.
Gardner, Warren H.	21	Died of wounds, July 5, 1862.
Learned, James	44	" dis. at Fort Schuyler, N. Y., Dec. 10, 1862.
Mears, Daniel	93	Died in Richmond, Va.; date unknown.
Pinkham, Wilson	28	" Boston, Mass.; " "
Rollins, Frank P.	24	" of wounds, Aug. 10, 1863.
Stone, Wilson	19	" in hospital, New York; date unk'n.
Wilder, Samuel	27	Kil'd at Chancellorsville, Va., May 2, '63.
<i>Deserted.</i>		<i>Date of Desertion.</i>
Henry Penmore, Sergeant	25	Bull Run, Va., July 21, 1861.
Ahern, Timothy	22	Georgetown, D.C., July 22, 1861.
Ahrend, Herman	24	Alexandria, Va., Oct. 21, 1862.
Burke, Michael H.	21	Budd's Ferry, Md., Nov. 13, 1861.
Bowditch, Thomas	23	Falmouth, Va., Jan. 19, 1863.
Bradley, William W.	22	Fair Oaks, Va., June 29, 1862.
Carroll, Charles	19	" " " "
Doyle, John N.	40	Annap'lis, Md., while par'd pris., no date.
Fessenden, George O.	20	Fresh Pond, Mass., June 12, 1861.
Foster, George H.	18	Georgetown, D. C., June 30, 1861.
Fleming, William	25	Wounded at Glendale, Va., June 30, 1862; not since heard from.
Geisler, Lawrence F.	25	Fair Oaks, Va., June 29, 1862.
Hopkins, John	24	Harrison's Landing, Va., Aug., 13, 1862.
Hobill, William H.	19	Warrington Junction, Va., Aug. 24, '62.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Kennedy, Cornelius E.	22	Washington, D.C.; date unknown.
Marriner, Rodney S.	26	Georgetown, D.C., July 22, 1861.
Marshall, George F.	31	" " " "
Mason, Joseph H.	30	" " " "
Martins, John	43	Harrison's Landing, Va., July, 1862.
Mason, John T.	39	Sick at Fairfax Station, Va., Nov. 15, 1862; not since heard from.
Norris, George G. S.	27	Harrison's Landing, Va., July, 1862.
Ridell, Thomas	28	Budd's Ferry, Md., Nov. 13, 1861.
Robbins, George R.	20	In face of the enemy, Dec. 14, 1862.
Ready, William	28	New York, Aug. 7, 1863.
Rogers, Alexander	21	" " Sept. 21, 1863.
Smith, Thomas L.	40	Fort Albany, Va., Aug. 6, 1861.
Spear, Benjamin A.	24	Fairfax Seminary, Va., Oct., 1862.
Williamson, Charles A.	22	Fresh Pond, Mass., June, 1861.
Woods, James	32	Georgetown, D.C., July 22, 1861.
Wright, Stephen	27	Fairfax Seminary, Va., Nov. 1, 1862.
Walker, Benjamin J.	32	Fair Oaks, Va., June 29, 1862.
Washburn, Henry G.	26	Fairfax Station, Va., Nov. 1862.

Company K.

James T. Higgins, 1st Sergeant	36	Must. out, May 25, '64, 1st Sgt. Mar. 1, '63.
George D. Robinson, Sergeant	21	" " " " Serg't, Nov. 1, '62.
Daniel Kelly, "	20	" " " " " "
Benjamin F. Chase, "	22	" " " " Feb. 1, '63.
Harrison Whittemore, "	24	" " " " Mar. 1, '63.
Peter Fitzgerald, Corporal	34	" " " " Corp., Nov. 1, '62.
Charles M. Raymond, "	22	" " " " " "
William Evans, "	20	" " " " " "
Thomas Brown, "	26	" " " " " "
Peter Wolfe, "	20	" " " " " "
George Good, "	20	Away wou'd when reg't was must'd out.
Charles H. Chapman, Musician	14	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
James M. Huggins, Wagoner	35	" " " " " "
Bacon, John O.	35	" " " " " "
Bailey, Oscar	28	" " " " " "
Beal, William H.	20	Away wou'd when regt was must'd out.
Bird, Louis	21	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Chadbourne, Cyrus K.	18	" " " " " "
Chubbuck, Hiram H.	22	" " " " " "
Connors, Michael	16	" " " " " "
Coullahan, John	16	" " " " " "
Cowen, John	22	" " " " " "
Desmond, Patrick W.	19	Missing since May 6, 1864.
Drew, Albert	31	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Fuller, George E.	21	Attached to Bramhall's Batt'y, Sept., '62.
Goode, Robert	21	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Greer, Charles K.	24	" " " " " "
Hathaway, Charles W.	23	" " " " " "
Hazlewood, George H.	40	" " " " " "
Herman, Conrad, Jr.	24	" " " " " "
Hooper, James G.	18	" " " " " "
Hudson, William L.	22	" " " " " "
Hollis, William L.	24	" " " " " "
Kelley, Edward	19	" " " " " "
Kenney, Michael	28	" " " " " "
Kendrick, Gorham S.	28	In hos. wou'd when regt was must'd out.
Lane, John	21	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Learned, Charles S.	19	" " " " " "
Leonard, Joseph M.	25	Away wou'd when regt was must'd out.
Maple, Frederick W.	23	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
McIntire, Charles W.	28	" " " " " "
McIntire, David P.	28	" " " " " "

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
McIntire, Horace	25	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Miller, George H.	36	" " " "
Moore, Garrick F.	41	" " " "
Murray, Thomas	21	" " " "
McGuire, Patrick	30	Away wou'd when regt was must'd out.
Neas, Thomas	22	Mustered out, May 25, 1864.
Parkinson, Thomas	35	" " " "
Pike, Edward A.	19	" " " "
Perkins, Charles C.	20	" " " "
Randall, Albert A.	18	" " " "
Ruth, Matthew N.	21	" " " "
Simpson, Daniel W.	20	" " " "
Snow, Alva	20	" " " "
Thayer, Richard L.	19	" " " "
<i>Discharged.</i>		<i>Causes of Discharge.</i>
Frank Thomas, Sergeant	25	Second Lieut., May 13, 1862.
John H. Holden, "	32	Disability, Dec. 28, 1862.
Charles E. Wilkins, "	24	" Oct. 3, 1863.
Nathaniel Averill, "	27	Order War Department, Feb. 11, 1863.
Adoniram J. Barteaux, Sergeant,	21	Disability, records lost.
John F. Baxter, Corporal	26	" " " "
Henry Crocker, Musician	41	" " " "
Arnold, John	23	Aug. 31, 1861, order Gen. McClellan.
Bender, Frederick	21	Nov. 13, 1861.
Cavanagh, Philip	28	Aug. 31, 1861, order Gen. McClellan.
Curtis, George	24	Disability, Oct. 17, 1862.
Copeland, David B.	22	" " " "
Downes, Frank T.	24	" Oct. 13, 1862.
Fay, John B.	22	" Aug. 31, 1861, ord. McClellan.
Finerty, James	21	" " " "
Frazier, James	42	Disability, records lost.
Hutchins, Frank	20	Wounds, 1862.
Hamilton, Joseph A.	26	Dis'ty, Aug. 31, 1861. ord. Gen. McClellan.
Hess, Henry	32	" " " "
Hauser, James G.	38	" July 24, 1862.
Kettler, William J.	39	" Oct., 1862.
Mason, Thomas T.	35	" 1863.
Matthews, Thomas R.	19	" Feb. 25, 1863.
McMahan, James	21	Wounds, Oct., 1862.
McCuen, James	19	Disability, Oct. 22, 1861.
McNulty, Thomas	21	" July 1, 1861.
McGuinness, Francis	23	" Aug. 31, '61, ord. McClellan.
McGonigle, James	24	" " " "
McCausland, Charles B.	21	Wounds, Oct. 11, 1862.
Myers, Peter	21	" May 14, 1863.
Patterson, John	26	Disability, records lost.
Partridge, Frank	21	Wounds, 1862.
Payson, Lorenzo A.	19	" 1862.
Powers, John J.	23	" 1862.
Richardson, Orange S.	29	Disability, records lost.
Rosemeyer, Conrad	22	Wounds, Dec. 28, 1863.
Spinney, Zenas	26	" Dec. 28, 1863.
Sidrick, Marcus	25	Disability, Jan., 1862.
Taneyhan, Thomas	22	" records lost.
Tidd, Squires S.	30	" Nov. 25, 1862.
Wadsworth, Benjamin	25	Promoted Lieut., Col'd Troops, 1863.
Westacott, Robert J.	41	Disability, records lost.
Wentworth, William H.	21	" July 1, 1861.
Wheeler, George	18	" Jan. 5, 1863.
Wood, Matthew	22	" Aug. 31, ord. Gen. McClellan.
Mahony, Thomas T.	19	Disability, March 13, 1863.
Hendricks, Adrien	34	" " 10, "
Gaibel, Joseph	29	" " 22, "

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Sheriff, Langdon	26	Disability, Feb. 9, 1863.
Madden, Timothy	31	" " 9, "
Thompson, George W.	25	" " 14, "
Dow, Simon D.	37	" " 9, "
Campbell, William	21	" " 9, "
Wilkins, John	20	" " 9, "
<i>Transferred.</i>		<i>To what Organization.</i>
Hoeneman, William	—	11th Mass. Reg.
McBarron, William	23	Veteran Reserve Corps, Sept. 5, 1863.
Mason, Allen P.	—	11th Mass. Reg.
Wrisley, Hollis S., Corporal	32	Veteran Reserve Corps, Sept. 5, 1863.
Young, Charles A.	30	" " " date unknown.
<i>Died.</i>		<i>Causes of Death.</i>
Eltraher, Joseph	24	Died Sept. 19, 1861.
Richardson, George G., Corporal	29	Killed in action, June 25, 1862.
Moran, Thomas L.	20	" " " "
Stillings, George H.	21	" " " "
Bovard, Frank	24	" " " "
Lang, William	19	" " " "
Ivers, James K.	41	" " " "
Ross, John P.	19	" " June 30, "
Jackson, Wesley	21	" " " "
Dolan, John	20	" " " "
Hall, William B.	29	" " " "
Clark, William	28	" " " "
Nelling, John W.	25	" " " "
McNally, Richard	34	Died August 29, 1862.
Tinsley, Thomas	44	" May 13, 1863.
Washburn, Henry S.	37	" July 2, "
Everett, George	38	" July 12, "
Carson, Robert M.	42	" Dec. 5, "
Barstow, John T.	26	" Jan. 2, "
<i>Deserted.</i>		<i>Date of Desertion.</i>
Clark, John Y. J., Sergeant	22	Sept. 30, 1862.
Liddell, Thomas, Corporal	23	Oct. 16, "
Rogers, Bernard	24	Aug. 24, " from Alexandria.
Hallett, Abel L.	23	Dec. 13, "
Habblitz, Jacob	21	" " "
Moore, Orrin N.	24	Oct. 10, " from Alexandria.
Boag, William R.	26	Aug. 21, " " "
Anthes, Adolph	20	Nov. 13, 1861, from Camp Hooker.
Barrie, Thomas	22	March 27, " " " Cameron.
Boyle, Arthur	23	May 27, " " " "
Bergman, August	25	June 25, " " " Banks.
Cohn, Julius	20	July 30, 1861, " Arlington, Va.
Spellman, John	19	Sept. 21, 1861, " Bladensburg, Md.
Spach, John H.	19	Nov. 21, " " Budd's Ferry.

